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12 AUGUST 1986

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

MAGHREB STATES' REACTION TO HASSAN'S PROPOSAL

London AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 5 Jul 86 p 25

[Article by Muhammad al-Ashhab: "Upheaval in the Alliances of the Arab Maghreb? Winds of Agreement Blow Over the Arab Maghreb States, Centering on Rabat and Algiers: Will They Have an Impact on Existing Alliances So as To Rearrange the Political Map?"]

[Text] Rabat--Before the Moroccan ruler, King Hassan II, left for a working visit to Washington on 21 June, he preferred to announce a bold step that may have repercussions at the level of strategic alliances in the Arab Maghreb region. In a speech addressed to the Moroccan Chamber of Deputies, a tradition usually devoted to discussing general issues, he announced a proposal to form an advisory council to include Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria. While this subject crystallized through the ongoing political dialogue between the four parties of the Arab Maghreb, signatories of what is known as the Tangier Charter of 1958, at their recent meeting a few weeks ago in Algiers, the importance of the proposal lies in Hassan II's personally undertaking to call for its implementation. This leads one to believe that preparation is under way through these channels for an important dialogue about various heated issues of interest to the Arab Maghreb region, especially the issue of Western Sahara. Information available to AL-MUSTAQBAL indicates that a series of secret contacts have taken place in recent weeks between Moroccan and Algerian officials, aimed at preparing for a bilateral summit to bring together King Hassan II and President Chedli Bendjedid of Algeria, and that certain Arab and non-Arab parties have offered suggestions to reconcile the points of view of the two countries on the Sahara conflict and on still unresolved border issues.

While the Moroccan parties hastened to welcome the proposal and to announce their readiness to back and support it by all available means, Algeria and Tunisia remained silent until the beginning of last week. In the case of Tunisia, it appears that the matter is related to anticipation of the legislative elections coming in November. As for Algeria, the National Liberation Front had already expressed its enthusiasm for this approach at the last meeting of the Maghrebi signatories of the Tangier Agreement.

As for the Libyan Jamahiriyah, which is linked to Morocco by the Unity Agreement, Mr Abdelwahad al-Radi, general secretary of the Arab-African Union, went to Tripoli on the same day the proposal in question was announced. This

was the Moroccan emissary's first assignment within the framework of the Arab-African Union, which means that King Hassan II's letter to Colonel Mu'ammār al-Qadhafi was aimed at explaining the goals of this proposal. Moreover, Moroccan television carried a direct picture of Colonel al-Qadhafi's meeting with the Moroccan emissary, to demonstrate the commitment of both countries to Moroccan-Libyan unity.

Arab diplomatic sources in Rabat had informed AL-MUSTAQBAL that during his visit to the United States, the Moroccan ruler would try to create a way out of the Libyan-American crisis. This is the effort that Rabat began just before the heated confrontation between Washington and Tripoli in the Gulf of Surt and the attack on the Libyan Jamahiriya this April.

In a related development, Arab diplomatic sources in Rabat consider it probable that the Western Sahara issue, in turn, will see another step toward a search for a peaceful solution that will end the current tension in the North African region. Observers have particularly noted what the Moroccan ruler indicated in his speech before the Chamber of Deputies, when he mentioned that the Sahara issue must under no circumstances be considered an insurmountable obstacle. This is the same position that President Chedli Bendjedid took when he received the leaders of the parties of the Arab Maghreb states during their recent conference in Algiers. A recommendation was drafted there calling for the formation of a popular commission for the purpose of establishing unity between the states of the Arab Maghreb, without reference to the Sahara problem, which shows that Algeria welcomes reaching a solution to this problem in a pan-Maghreb context.

It has been observed that the Algerian position coincided with the onset of indirect negotiations between Morocco and the Polisario Front, which took place in two rounds under the supervision of the UN secretary general. Since the Arab Maghreb region has recently become accustomed to the politics of surprise steps, the matter no longer arouses astonishment so much as it arouses questioning--particularly in the light of possible changes in existing alliances. Will the Moroccan ruler's initiative have direct effects on the two Arab-African Union agreements between Morocco and Libya, and on the Brotherhood and Concord Agreement between Mauritania, Tunisia, and Algeria?

The establishment of a consultative commission between Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria, as a first stage--and in the absence of reactions from the Libyan Jamahiriya--leads one to believe that something political is cooking on a slow fire. Morocco, in any event, remains linked to Libya by the Unity Agreement. Mauritania, in turn, is linked to Tunisia and Algeria by the Brotherhood and Concord Agreement. It does not appear that there is any inclination to go beyond these two agreements. But it also does not appear that there is any inclination to crystallize them in the framework of the newly suggested proposal.

From now on, and until the results of the Moroccan ruler's visit to Washington become evident--in the light of Washington's interest in regional and strategic balances in the Arab Maghreb region, and in the light of the completion of talks between the parties of the three Arab Maghreb states and between their executive bodies which, it is believed, will supervise the

establishment of this consultative agency--all the possibilities are present: whether these involve smoothing the way for this effort, or keeping it as a concept for formulating a future groundwork for dialogue about the integration of the Maghreb.

12937/12913

CSO: 4504/374

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARMENIAN SSR HIGH-RANKING OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED IN ALEPPO

Beirut ARARAT in Armenian 11 Jun 86 p 2

[Interview by ARARAT correspondent Hakop Aghayan with First Deputy Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of the Armenian SSR Vahe Gabujian: "Interview With Soviet Armenia's First Deputy Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education Comrade Vahe Gabujian"]

[Text] Comrade Vahe Gabujian, Soviet Armenia's first deputy minister of higher and secondary specialized education, arrived in Aleppo on Saturday, 24 May 1986, on a 15-day visit. The honored guest was met at the Aleppo airport by representatives of the Aleppo-Armenian Interunion Organization.

Comrade Vahe Gabujian was born in Egypt, from where he emigrated to his fatherland in 1948. there he obtained his higher education, becoming an economist.

He presently holds an important position in that Armenian ministry which has the most difficult mission of providing our younger generation with the highest level of education and knowledge.

We interviewed First Deputy Minister Comrade Vahe Gabujian in Aleppo in order to present to our esteemed readers an outline of the utilitarian activities in Soviet Armenia's higher and secondary specialized education and to take advantage of Comrade Gabujian's visit.

[Question] Would you briefly introduce yourself to our readers?

[Answer] My career biography in Soviet Armenia involves two institutions: the Yerevan State University and the Republic Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. Upon graduating from the university I went on to graduate school, becoming a university lecturer upon completing my candidate's degree. Subsequently I held the position of deputy director. After this I transferred to the ministry, holding the position of head of the science department. I then held the position of head of the department of higher educational institutions at that same ministry. I have held the position of deputy minister since 1975, and was named first deputy minister this year.

[Question] What is the purpose of your visit?

[Answer] As you know, for about 30 years now the homeland has been accepting students from various Armenian communities in the Diaspora. Up to the present time 1,224 Armenians from the Diaspora, from 26 different countries throughout the world, have completed studies in Armenia, while 755 Armenians from the Diaspora are presently enrolled at our higher educational institutions. Consequently, I should first like to note, we see in this phenomenon an expression of awareness of obligation on the part of the homeland to the sons of Armenia who, independently of their own will, have been scattered throughout the world. Secondly we view it as an indication of the struggle against assimilation by Armenians in the Diaspora; thirdly, we view it as an expression on the part of the Armenian masses in the Diaspora of the attractive force and evidence of increased attraction by higher schools in Soviet Armenia; the latter in turn is of course due to the high quality and prestige of our higher educational institutions. Experience indicates that Armenians from the Diaspora who have graduated from Soviet Armenian higher educational institutions have successfully competed against graduates of other universities throughout the world. The purpose of my visit to Syria (the Armenian community here has a large number of students) is to confer with the appropriate agencies within the community concerning those matters which will ensure the quality of education of students accepted from Syria, and to increase the number of students from Syria enrolled at higher educational institutions in Armenia who, I should note, include not only Armenians but students of Arab nationality as well. They presently number 103: 16 of these are graduate students and students receiving on-the-job training.

[Question] What kind of specialists are being trained at Armenian higher educational institutions today, and in what numbers?

[Answer] There are presently 13 higher educational institutions in Soviet Armenia. Students are enrolled in 156 areas of specialization. In other words, our higher educational institutions appropriately train high-quality personnel needed to handle present requirements and future development of the republic's industry, agriculture, construction, communications, transportation, education, culture, health care, and science. On the eve of establishment of Soviet rule, 84.5 percent of the population of Armenia was totally without education, while today it is a republic of total educational encompassment. During the years of Soviet rule, 250,000 specialists with a higher education have been produced in Armenia. At the present time 262 out of every 1,000 persons working in the various branches and sectors of the Armenian economy have received specialized education, and 145 of these have a higher education. Approximately 58,900 students are currently enrolled at higher educational institutions in Armenia. This means that 190 persons out of every 10,000 are enrolled in college, while in England the figure is 98, 165 in France and Belgium, 151 in Japan, 99 in West Germany, and 139 in Canada.

[Question] What are the current problems of higher education in Soviet Armenia?

[Answer] We have long since resolved the matter of meeting quantitative requirements of suitably-trained specialists in all branches and sectors of

the republic's economy; of course the question of improving the quality of personnel receiving training is and will be a continuing one. We are therefore constantly working on improving the educational process, especially by strengthening the link between education and science. As you now, the 27th CPSU Congress specified ambitious targets for all areas of activity throughout the Soviet Union. The focal point of the congress decisions is acceleration of scientific and technological advance. Therefore the most important task of higher educational institutions is to ensure the integration of study, science and production, and we in this field consider our most important task to be that of improving scientific research conducted at Armenia's higher educational institutions so that the results of these research efforts, when applied in the branches producing material goods, will generate high productivity.

[Question] In conclusion, what would you like to tell our readers?

[Answer] I place high value on the mission being carried out by the daily newspaper ARARAT, a mission which is patriotic and beneficial to the nation, especially in the difficult conditions prevailing in Lebanon. I should like through ARARAT to wish all nation-preserving organizations long life and success.

3024

CSO: 4605/52

ALGERIA

BEN BELLA BOOK REVIEWED, IDEAS EXAMINED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 9 Jun 86 pp 37, 38

[Article by Izraj 'Umur: "Ahmed Ben Bella--Between Traditional Thought and the Tradition of Ideas"]

[Text] Details of the picture of the Algerian revolution and the status of contemporary Algerian society with all its segments are not clearly outlined. There are two basic reasons for this. The first is the delay in writing down the history of the 1 November 1954 revolution from independence to our times. There were individual attempts, however, of an academic nature, but they were absorbed more in searching for a suitable path than in thoroughly examining facts and findings. Most of the facts and findings are in France, and it has refused to hand them over to the Algerians. Some are with militants, officers, and officials who are still living, but who cannot talk about them because they adversely affect persons who are still in the political leadership of the country and in positions of influence and power.

One may say that the seminars organized by the Mujahidin to gather the testimony and views of the earlier fighters is one way to write this history, even though the activity of these seminars is limited to enumerating military questions like battles, supplies, the number of casualties, and citing political communiques and covenants of the revolution of liberation. Meanwhile, economic, cultural, and agricultural aspects, as well as the great disparities which exist, are neglected on purpose, because they are a delicate subject which arouses sensitivities.

The second factor is that doors are not open to debate the experiment of Algeria after independence in a responsible, candid manner in order to sift through it, reinforce its positive aspects, and eliminate its negative ones. On the one hand, this situation has maintained the image of the 1 November 1954 Revolution and the post-independence experience in a carefully-guarded framework enveloped in a wrapping which makes the observer take either a romantic view of Algeria or the view of someone who knows nothing. Such a climate has permitted Western writers to study the revolution of liberation and the present situation in a manner governed by impressions, repeating information already in circulation, and revolving in an orbit of generalities without going directly into detail in depth.

The same climate **has** permitted the Algerian opposition residing abroad to resort to the practice of sentimental writing, behind which one smells the search for ways to regain power. One of these is the book of former Algerian president Ahmed Ben Bella, A COMPLETE INFORMATIVE ACCOUNT. In fact, it is a collection of interviews conducted with him by an Arab journalist and first published in the magazine AL-SHIRA'. The book contains seven chapters with an introduction and cultural biography of the former president, Ahmed Ben Bella. The book includes the following focal points: Age of Renaissance, Islam and the Global Structure, Islamic Movements, Arab Nationalism in Thought and Practice, Arab Formulas for Development and Modernization, a View of Contemporary Sociology, and a Comparison of the Algerian and Palestinian Revolutions.

The importance of this book stems from the fact that it is the book of an Algerian president ousted by a military coup in 1965 in obscure circumstances for reasons which have not been made sufficiently clear. There were a number of accusations exchanged between the two sides, and they concerned mainly the method of government, not content. In other words, the dispute between the two sides was technical, not ideological. This is evidenced by the fact that Boumediene changed neither the essence of the educational program in all its forms, the content of national information, nor laws involving the practical life of the masses. The agricultural, industrial and cultural revolution which was raised as a slogan did not in fact go beyond the scope of building institutions and structures which developed the bureaucracy. This bureaucracy prevailed during the time of Ahmed Ben Bella and became a factor blocking the application of socialism later in contemporary Algeria. Furthermore, the philosophy of this socialism which was to be applied in Algerian society was not defined.

Historical Background

Discussion of Ahmed Ben Bella's book must begin with a clearly-defined historical background and a clearly-defined Arab position, if the results of this discussion are to be useful.

To begin with, the book expresses a view which is so chaotic and selective that it becomes fabrication. There is no clear indication of the shortcomings of the author's era or the flaws and mistakes of that era. Consequently, we find no trace of the circumstances and conditions which brought him to power immediately after independence. According to documents and information which are no longer secret, former President Ahmed Ben Bella did not come to power by democratic referendum, but by means of the Algerian Army which came to the Western region from the borders of Tunisia by way of the Algerian South. Entering into a ruinous battle would have caused a horrible civil war had it not been for the wisdom of the Algerian people who went out on the streets shouting and crying, "Seven years of blessings." In other words, the wounds of the Franco-Algerian war which lasted 7 years had not yet healed.

The book does not clarify the doctrinal disputes which broke out among members of the leadership during formulation of the covenants of the revolution, especially the Pact of Tripoli and Algiers. It failed to clarify Khider's dispute with Ahmed Ben Bella and the other members of the political leadership at that time. Khider was forced into exile and with him the assets of the revolution of liberation. They are the treasure of Algeria and remain missing to this day.

The reader of the book A COMPLETE INFORMATIVE ACCOUNT will be disappointed if he is curious about discovering the facts concerning the murder of leaders of the 1 November Revolution like Amirouche, Si Haouas and others. There are contradictory opinions about them, and questions are still pending without satisfactory answers.

There is also mention of certain revolutionary positions of figures like Shakib Arslan, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Amir'Abd al-Qadir, and others. However, they are in an emotional context used for particular purposes. On the other hand, suspicions about the struggle and conduct of Imam, Abdelhamid Ben Badis and Cheikh Bechir Ibrahimi are not supported by historical documents and testimonies in which one is confident. If Ahmed Ben Bella thought that Abdelhamid Ben Badis was against Algerian independence from France, this opinion has been proven wrong by documents obtained from Abderrahman Chibane, former minister of religious affairs. They make clear that he gave his blessing with Cheikh Bechir Ibrahimi to the outbreak of the 1 November 1954 Revolution. Perhaps the anthem of the revolution which every Algerian has memorized, is the most sincere indication of Ben Badis' rejection of incorporation. The anthem is, "The people of Algeria are Muslim." This passage contains, "Whoever seeks assimilation is seeking the impossible." How is it rational for Ahmed Ben Bella to disagree with the program of Abdelhamid Ben Badis and Bechir Ibrahimi and at the same time leave the son of the latter, Dr Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, in power during his regime? Now Ahmed Ben Bella comes and says that Dr Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi is the sponsor of current Algerian policy and rejects his presence and influence within the regime. This is not the place for me to defend the trend of the Association of Ulema. On the contrary, I will try to divulge the facts from a neutral position and establish the mutual contradictions in Ahmed Ben Bella's ideas.

The question of minorities, for example, emerges in the book from time to time and assumes importance. His position is to respect minorities and give them their rights. Here we pause and refer to history. We find that Ahmed Ben Bella fought the Berbers in Algeria with arms during his regime. He killed many of them. If it had not been for external factors, the civil war in Algeria would not have come to an end. As for rights, no laws were issued guaranteeing Berbers the right to develop their language and tribal communities to serve the national culture in its diversity within the framework of cultural, geographical, and psychological unity. No one knows why in the context of this speech on minorities he did not mention the democratic Iraqi solution with regard to the Kurds. He contented himself with attacking the current Iraqi regime. I raise this question so no one

perhaps will claim that the ideas of Ahmed Ben Bella have evolved. Here we state that they have not evolved concerning this critical problem. The scientific view of the problem of minorities is not regional, but pan-Arab, and then it unfolds on a global scale.

Nasirism Is Not Speeches

The term "Nasirism" is frequently repeated in the book in the sense that the ideas of Ahmed Ben Bella have a Nasirite stamp and are a continuation of them. However, Nasirism is not a collection of speeches of the leader Gamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. On the contrary, it is a collection of values and practices which he tried to apply both in Egyptian society and on a pan-Arab level. Gamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, according to the Egyptian National Pact, confirms scientific socialism. We find that Ahmed Ben Bella in his book rejects socialism, Marxism, and capitalism as well. He proposes an alternative which is self-motivation. It is at the heart of the socialist experiment of Tito in Yugoslavia. Elsewhere in the book he proposes "consultation" as a means of government instead of a parliamentary system and republican regime or a government of the working classes, as is the case in literature and in many practices in socialist countries. With the preceding, we perceive an attempt to reconcile two theses--that of Khomeyni in Iran and that of al-Qadhdhafi in Libya. It should be noted that this reconciliation has been imposed by the political game, the achievement of material interests, and the moral support of Ahmed Ben Bella as opposition. The theory of the nation, which he, through his book, has tried to crystalize, has led to a demand to transcend the form of the nation. This, in fact, is not his invention, but an idea proposed by Lenin in his book STATE AND REVOLUTION. The difference is that the thesis of Lenin is historical, and the thesis of Ahmed Ben Bella is political and temporary. The theses and practices of Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi have not led to the creation of a new cultural, technological, and ethical model. On the contrary, they have produced a society with a consumer mentality and a chaotic character in the management of affairs, both internally and externally. That society has constant recourse to gas and petroleum, and this has led to the loss of many advantages even during the era of the monarchy, including relative personal freedom and the work ethic. In the same manner, the reactionary theses of Khomeyni have created the bases of backwardness in Iran and the decline of economic and cultural life, according to the testimony of political observers and the Iranian people themselves.

Nationalist Thought

Nationalism is another matter. We find mention of it in the book with discussion of contemporary Arab national thought. In discussing the ideas of Professor Michel 'Aflaq, Ahmed Ben Bella feels that they are imported from France where the concept of nationalism prevailed during and after the World War. The theses of Professor Michel 'Aflaq, as he is known, were not tied at all to the French thesis. Why? The concept of nationalism does not mean uniting the peoples of Europe in the French notion mentioned by Ahmed Ben Bella. On the contrary, it means uniting the French people and creating an equilibrium between the Alsations on the German border and

other segments of the population of France, in order to guarantee that the Alsatians not secede and join Germany. At present, languages have not received their due in France and are not granted total freedom. This is one of the central problems in French social, political, and cultural life at present. On the other hand, the theses of Michel 'Aflaq are not "nationalism" in its narrow sense. On the contrary, his is basically a thesis using civilization, history, language, psychology, and common destiny as the boundaries and bases. It does not focus on descent. In this respect, it presents formulations to crystalize means of achieving Arab unity which guarantee the respect of minorities and their culture, as was the case with the Kurds in Iraq.

Composed Writing

The book brings up several points about literature and philosophy. For example, Ahmed Ben Bella considers Sholokhov a dwarf compared to Gorky. The comparison historically is impossible in this respect, but each one has his own bias and particular characteristics in expressing issues of one era which is different than another. Sholokhov may be compared only with himself or with the history of his country. Here one should note that it is better to avoid the term "dwarf" in composed, critical writing.

These are some observations about a book which has provoked and continues to provoke numerous questions. Perhaps we may agree on a few of them, but we certainly disagree on the hypothesis, the program, and the goal.

The time has come to discuss the new wave of traditional Arab thought disguised in the false claims of revolutionism, which comes from the tradition of these and programs of regimes of demonstrated failure, such as the theses of Khomeyni and al-Qadhdhafi and their programs and practices at home and abroad. The thesis of the Salafiyah and the Mu'asiriyah, which he discussed in his book, contains many pitfalls having to do with the use of the conventional, and it requires a separate study.

7811/12624

CSO: 4504/351

12 August 1986

EGYPT

COPTIC POPE INTERVIEWED ON SHARI'AH, OTHER ISSUES

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 28 Jun-4 Jul 86 pp 8-10

[Interview with Coptic Pope Shanudah by correspondent Hamida Na'na': "I Fought in Palestine and the Copts Won't Visit Jerusalem Until After the Liberation"; in Cairo, date not given]

[Text] Pope Shanudah, a personality who provokes debate and dialogue, is at the head of the Coptic Church, which has had its identity and independence for hundreds of years and which is experiencing one of the most critical stages in years. This stage is characterized by the Coptic Church's departure from its isolation and its attempt to extend itself beyond its own parameters in the direction of Egyptian Coptic youth residing abroad. It is likewise characterized by what one could call "the return to religion," whether that be a return to Islamic or Christian religion.

His name is Nadhir Jayyid. He was born in one of the villages in upper Egypt near the city of Asyut. Then he moved to Cairo when he was 5 years old, to live his childhood in the low income quarter of Shubra. He grew up before the winds blew his ship in the direction of communion with himself and God. He graduated from the college of liberal arts and became a journalist, an author, and a poet. Then he entered the priesthood and was ordained as a bishop under the title of Abba Shanudah. Today he sits on the papal throne, and is responsible for the spiritual life of the Egyptian Copts whose fathers rejected the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon and paid for their beliefs with their lives.

AL-TADAMUN met with Pope Shanudah in Cairo and this was the interview:

[Question] We don't need to present you to our readers, for you are well known to them. But we will enumerate some of your attributes: author, journalist, poet, and educator responsible for the spiritual life of more than 6 million, inside and outside Egypt, in Europe, Australia, and the United States. In your 63d year, 11 of which were spent in a cave alone, my question to you is, with what weapon and by what means did you face loneliness?

[Answer] First, I didn't spend 11 years as you mentioned, but 8½ years, from 1954 to 1962. I spent these years transcribing, translating, reading,

and writing. As for my perception of loneliness and how I faced it, I want to tell you something. In once wrote two lines of poetry in which I said:

I have a solitary path that I love.
All my life I have followed it.

Whether I'm in society, or in exile.
In my solitude, the two are equal to me.

Man's internal life is the basic issue. If he prefers solitude, solitude will become part of him. I wrote much poetry about solitude when I was in the world before becoming a monk. Most of my feelings spoke about the life of the wandering monks, who traveled aimlessly in the mountains, and I said in one of these poems:

Alone in the wilderness, I concern myself with no one else.

Among the cracks of the mountain, I hide my cave.

Lost in the wilderness, I eat my bread
wandering from wasteland to wasteland.

I belong to no particular monastery, for all the
deserts and the hills are my monastery.

[Question] Do you believe we have neglected mentioning some things in introducing you? Can you clarify them for AL-TADMUN's readers?

[Answer] You forgot to mention that I studied archeology and history. Then I joined the army and was ranked at the top of my class of officers. Then I went to fight in Palestine.

[Question] We can then ask the priest fighting for Palestine about the position of the Coptic Church, at whose head he finds himself today, on the Palestinian question.

[Answer] I have written the Christian view of Israel in a book, a book which is based on a lecture I gave in 1965 at the Union of Journalists when one of my friends, Professor Hafiz Mahmud, was its chairman. This lecture was published by the Union. All of it was indeed from the Bible and its view of Israel. I remember when I met President Jimmy Carter in 1977 he referred to this book, and he asked me about it, saying, "I learned you wrote a book about Israel, and you said that the Jews were not God's chosen people." I answered him, "Yes, they are not God's chosen people, Mr President, and if it were so, then you and I would not be God's chosen people because we are not Jews. Do you believe that God left all these millions of peoples to choose three or ten million Jews, either inside or outside Israel, so they would be God's chosen people? In the Old Testament the Jews were the only ones who worshiped God because the prophets appeared in Palestine, but when the faith spread all over the world, this question was refuted."

[Question] We all know the history of the Coptic Church, and we know that this church has continuously supported the embrace of national independence. Two months ago we heard a quote from Yasir 'Arafat that he attributed to you. He was repeating it with admiration, as proof of the Egyptian people's steadfastness in the face of the normalization. If I remember correctly, the quote was, "The Copts won't enter Jerusalem except with their Arab Muslim brothers." We know that there are problems between the Coptic Church and Israel because of the al-Sultan Monastery. Could Your Holiness comment on this dispute?

[Answer] Really, the Coptic Church was founded at the beginning of Christianity, along with the founding of the theological school of Alexandria. A pagan school had been there which kept thousands of manuscripts. A religious school had to be established that could oppose pagan thought. The theological school became well-known and it took credit for introducing many Christian scholars such as Saint Athanasius al-Rasuli and Kirillus al-Iskandari. Then it played a big role in the great Ecumenical Councils. In addition to all that, the Egyptian church gave the world all the monastic laws, and Egypt became the center of monastic life in the whole world. The Coptic Church's independent character continued, and when it did not join the Holy Roman Empire, this Empire rejected it beginning with the 5th Century. Thus the Copts in Egypt experienced the oppression of the Holy Roman Empire, which lasted until the beginning of Islam. When 'Umaru-Ibn-al-'As arrived in Egypt, the Coptic Patriarch was Pope Benjamin, the 38th pope. Banished from his seat for 13 years, he traveled to the cities and towns to help people to strengthen their faith. The first thing 'Umaru-Ibn-al-'As did was to return the churches to the pope that had been taken from the Copts by the Romans. Thus began a good relationship between the Copts and the Muslims. We have lived as brothers for over 13 centuries in an atmosphere of affection and cooperation.

[Question] The Prophet of God has recommended you. Did he not say to the Muslims, "God shall deliver Egypt to you after I'm gone. Protect its Copts for they are your kinsfolk, and they are under your protection." There are ties of kinship between you and the Muslims, for the wife of the Prophet, Maria, who bore him his only son Abu-al-Qasim, was a Copt from Egypt.

[Answer] There is a prophetic tradition that says, "I urge you to take care of the Copts, because you are related to them." In any case, the history of coexistence between us and our Muslim brothers in Egypt is obvious and great.

You asked me about my position on the Palestinian issue. When I met with Carter in 1977, I told him that it was inhuman to leave the Palestinians without a homeland. But it is my opinion that the Palestinian issue could have been solved if the Arabs had not been so divided among themselves. Unfortunately, the Palestinians are massacred and expelled from many places at the hands of the Arabs themselves. If the Arabs were united, what is happening today would not have happened. As for the problems between us and the Jews, as you know the Coptic Church has holy places in Jerusalem, as different churches do. On 25 April 1970, which was Easter, our archbishop in Jerusalem was praying in the Church of the Resurrection, when Israeli troops

entered with arms and occupied the al-Sultan monastery. They changed the locks on the doors and took over what was between the Church of the Resurrection and the monastery because the patriarchate of the Copts is adjacent to the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem. After he finished his prayers, the archbishop was not able to go there because the Israeli soldiers stopped him. After a while they delivered the church to the Ethiopians. The dispute is ongoing. The question of the al-Sultan monastery is a side issue, but the problem between us is much more comprehensive. We, as I said, will not enter Jerusalem except with our Muslim Arab brothers, and therefore we have forbidden visits to Jerusalem by all Copts. When a travel agency organizes a trip without our knowledge and certain individuals sign up for it unknowingly, if we find out, we contact them and we forbid them from going. Even our sons in Europe adhere to the orders of the Church in this regard.

[Question] Your Holiness the Pope, your talk about the Arabs and the unity of the Arab position reminds us of a statement made by the late Lebanese president Bashir Jumayyil after he was elected president of Lebanon, "The Christians of the East are oppressed," using the Copts of Egypt as an example. According to what you have said, this is absolutely not true. What is the position of the Coptic Church regarding national unity?

[Answer] The statements of Shaykh Bashir Jumayyil represent a reaction to Sadat's actions. But what Sadat did represented a situation and a temporary stage which Egypt experienced peacefully. In Egypt we are different from Lebanon, because we have one national orientation, and no difference over the patriotism question can occur between Muslims and Christians. Domestically, Egypt is united, and its national goals are one. The Egyptian is an Egyptian, be he Muslim or Christian. There is no difference in his patriotic orientation or in his sense of belong to his country.

During the Crusader wars the Copts stood united behind their Muslim brothers against the Christians who were attacking their country. During the revolution of 1919 the Copts stood beside the Muslims against the foreign occupation. Praise God there are no militias in Egypt. Rather, there is one strong army protecting the country because our enemy does not distinguish between Christians and Muslims, and why should we distinguish between them? In Lebanon, unfortunately, every faction has an army and a militia. This situation is what led to the bloody conflict that Lebanon continues to live through. We hope in our hearts that this struggle will end well, that the Christians and Muslims will return to the peaceful coexistence they had throughout history.

[Question] Even though we admire and appreciate the role of the Coptic Church in the protection of national unity in Egypt, we worry about the waves of fanaticism and sectarianism in the Middle East, what is Your Holiness' view of this wave of fanaticism on the part of Christians and Muslims? How do you explain this wave or movement? Rather how do you deal with it among Christian youth?

[Answer] The people need to know that there is a line that divides piety and fanaticism. Each person can cling to his religion, but if he is a fanatic, that is a serious mistake. Religion should be an incentive for love and good conduct. As for fanaticism, it is totally opposite. Fanaticism confines man into a tight circle where he doesn't come into contact with the rest of his brothers or his neighbors. A person can hold to his religion. But he cannot impose his views with force on others. We must realize that our Lord gave people the freedom to worship Him as they wish. God wants every person to come to Him because of what he feels in his heart, and not out of compulsion or obligation.

Dealing with fanaticism requires a religious dialogue with the new generation, a dialogue that elucidates the essence of religion and makes clear that winning the people over is not done by force, but rather by good social relations. The problem of force actually needs to be studied today all over the world, not only in our region. As for your question regarding how we deal with this problem among Christian youth, I say, with relation to our youth, we should not wait till they grow up to pay attention to them. Rather we pay attention to them when they are very young. We begin by caring for them spiritually through Sunday schools. This way we won't find a problem with the children when they grow up because they will have learned that religion is not just instruction or passages from the Bible but rather a practical application in daily life that in time develops into habits and characteristics that are deeply rooted in the heart of man. When he grows older and becomes a young man, these habits and characteristics give him immunity against external problems.

Naturally, mistakes happen. But the church strives to meet with young men and women to examine these mistakes and to deal with them and with any problems they are confronted with, be they emotional, spiritual, or material.

[Question] Today in Egypt the issue of implementing the Islamic Shari'ah is raised. As you know, the People's Assembly continues to debate this subject. How does Your Holiness view this issue? Do the Copts fear the implementation of Islamic Shari'ah?

[Answer] We do not interfere in the affairs of our Muslim brothers. Whether or not they implement Islamic Shari'ah is a question that concerns them. But what concerns us is how the Christians will be treated when Islamic Shari'ah is implemented. Will they be treated as citizens who have all the rights of citizenship, or will they be treated as infidels? I am speaking frankly. These words are based on long research of the Islamic Shari'ah. All the Christians want is the preservation of their rights, and that they not lose equality with their Muslim brothers concerning some of their special legislation and concerning personal status issues such as marriage and divorce. The Hadith says, "If non-Muslims come to you, judge them according to what they worship," meaning according to their beliefs. Old legal documents contain provisions to that effect.

There is a Koranic verse that those who call for the implementation of the Islamic Shari'ah should always recall. The verse says, "Whosoever judges not according to what God has sent down, they are the ungodly."

Actually, the previous verse is not a whole verse, but half a verse. The first part of it says, "Let the people of the gospel judge according to what God has sent down therein. Whosoever judges not according to what God has sent down, they are the ungodly." (Surat al-Ma'idah, verse 48.)

The Koran itself gave the Christians the right to have their own laws applied to them. The people of the gospel shall be judged according to what God has sent down therein.

There are many details that have to do with the implementation of the Islamic Shari'ah, I don't mean the text of the Shari'ah only, but what is understood by the Shari'ah in the view of the people and extremists.

[Question] During Ramadan, you invited guests to the patriarchate for the breaking of the fast. This is the first time, I believe, that the Coptic pope had invited the president of the country, the prime minister, senior officials and personalities. What is the meaning of this invitation to you?

[Answer] True, this is the first time, and it has never happened before, that the pope made an invitation to the patriarchate. But on the local levels the bishops undertook such initiatives. My aim, through this invitation, was to strengthen the ties of friendship and amity between us and our Muslim brothers, to eat a simple meal together. The reactions were positive and encouraging. The event will become a tradition every year, whether in the Patriarchate or the bishoprics. Neither formalities nor laws create bonds between human beings, rather it is personal relationships and acquaintance that create them.

This is not new to me, for as you know, I met a group of Christian and Muslim religious men in a meeting called by President Sadat in 1977 at 'Abidin Palace. In that meeting I said, "Why don't we work together?" I proposed that we write a joint statement on common issues. I said, "We all believe in morality, why don't we write something against vice? We all believe in God, so why don't we write against, for example, heresy?" If the people saw a document signed by Christian and Muslim clerics, many things would change.

[Question] But the invitation is a good tradition, and I think that since you took over the papal office many new things happened, including an attempt by the church to come out of its seclusion. For example, you are the first Coptic pope to meet with Pope Paul VI in the Vatican and you issued that day statements about the "rapprochement among churches." What have you accomplished in this regard?

[Answer] The meeting between myself and His Holiness the Pope of Rome took place in 1973. It was on the occasion of the passage of more than 16 centuries since the death of Pope Athanasius al-Rasuli, when I went to receive his body from Rome. We made an agreement which I signed in the name of the Coptic Church and which Pope Paul VI signed in the name of

the Catholic Church. Then a committee for joint dialogue was formed to discuss the religious differences that exist between the two churches.

[Question] Did you reach anything new?

[Answer] The committee is still carrying out its work, but it has been less active recently.

[Question] Undoubtedly Your Holiness has noticed the movement of Pope John Paul II, and it is a movement that carries clear political implications, in a world embroiled in conflict and changes. What are the limits that can be drawn between men of religion and politics? Has politics become a part of religion in our contemporary world?

[Answer] Are you speaking of Egypt or Rome?

[Question] I'm speaking of Rome and of Egypt.

[Answer] His Holiness the Pope of Rome is not only a man of religion, because he has two jobs, one religious, and the other secular. He is the head of state of the Vatican and is responsible for the Catholic Church. His movement is that of a head of state, then as the head of a church.

[Question] What about Egypt?

[Answer] In Egypt the Coptic Pope has a religious job only.

[Question] While we're still discussing politics and religion, what is Your Holiness' view of the steps the Catholic Church has taken to exonerate the Jews for the blood of Christ? Is that a religious or a political act? Is the pope's recent visit to the Jewish Temple in Rome and the statements he made there merely a religious visit?

[Answer] I do not follow the details of the pope's visits. But the exoneration of the Jews for the blood of Christ, if we look at its religious dimension, is an attempt that will not be successful. We have opposed it strongly in the Coptic Church. We have convened conferences to explain this subject. We see in this endeavor a clear violation of the Bible itself. This initiative was started by a German cardinal. This cardinal fell victim to feelings of guilt about what his nation did to the Jews. The Jews still try to instill feelings of guilt into the souls of the Europeans in general. Thus, this cardinal called for the exoneration of the Jews from the blood of Christ, under the pretext that those who crucified and tortured Christ were the Jews of the past and that their sons should not bear the results of their errors. Our response was clear in this regard. We said, "If the Jews today were exonerated for the sins of their fathers and if they acknowledged Christianity, we could accept such a logic." But what is happening is that the Jews to this day believe in what their fathers told them about the notion that Christ had not yet come and that the one who came was a misguided person who deserved what their fathers did to Him.

With this belief, they renounce Christianity itself and take part in straying from the truth, and blasphemy, if not in deed, then in words.

[Question] The influence of your church has extended beyond Egypt. At the same time Christian youth is emigrating to the United States, Australia, and Europe. What is the strength of this presence? Is the Christian youth abroad in touch with the mother church in Egypt? How can this phenomenon be dealt with?

[Answer] We have many churches in all the countries of the world. But these churches are tied to the mother church. The first article of their founding law states, "that it is a part of the Coptic mother church in Egypt." As for the priests who serve abroad, they are priests sent from here, and the decision to keep them or recall them is made by the mother church, of course, with the concurrence of the congregations abroad. The church protects its children abroad and strives to educate them about their eastern heritage and civilization so they are not lost. But I fear that the time might come when Egyptian emigrants to the United States and Europe lose their roots, and Egypt becomes a distant memory.

We are careful to teach their children Arabic, careful to cultivate eastern traditions among them, careful to see that they continue to be a part of their civilization.

[Question] Does Pope Shanudah still write poetry, for example, while at the head of the religious institution?

[Answer] The talents of a gifted man do not leave him. When I was young I had enough time to write poetry. Today the situation is completely different. I lack the time.

The tape recorder stopped. But the dialogue between us continued for 4 hours, during which Pope Shanudah, patriarch of the Coptic Church, touched on difficult and important subjects he wished to discuss off the record. He discussed many issues, especially those that resulted in the clash with President Anwar Sadat, the pope's exile and house arrest.

On the way to the AL-TADMUN office, I was convinced that an objective discussion and a gradual understanding would help to shed some light on religious and political personalities who manage the affairs of our country. Herein lies the critical task of any Arab journalist who appreciates the seriousness of Arab shifting developments that challenge the very existence of the Arab nation.

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SUDAN

COMMUNIST LEADER FATIMAH AHMAD IBRAHIM INTERVIEWED

Leader's Visit to U.S. Discussed

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 5-11 Jul 86 p 4

[Editorial: "Letter From AL-TADAMUN"]

[Text] Reports from Khartoum say that the American embassy has granted Mrs Fatimah Ahmad Ibrahim an entry visa to the United States in her capacity as president of the Sudanese Women's Federation. This means that Mrs Fatimah [Ibrahim] will be the first Sudanese personality of Marxist ideology to visit the United States, the unyielding citadel, in the confrontation with Marxism.

Although the visit is not official, the mere granting of a U.S. entry visa to Mrs Fatimah [Ibrahim] constitutes an important sign--we might almost say a question mark--about the American method of dealing with others who have leftist leanings or who hold Marxist beliefs.

The fact that Mrs Fatimah [Ibrahim's] visit is unofficial does not mean that she is going for tourism or to see the sights of the United States. She is president of the Sudanese Women's Federation, which had a noteworthy share in toppling the regime of President Ja'far Numayri. Also, Mrs Fatimah [Ibrahim] is to give a lecture at the University of Houston in Texas on the political situation in the Sudan. A large number of university people, students, and professors are certain to gather around this prominent black Arab personality who has a command of the language and culture in order to hear a great deal from her about Sudanese and regional affairs, bearing in mind that she is the widow of al-Shafi' Ahmad al-Shaykh, the internationally known union leader, who, had he not been executed together with a group of leftist civilians and military men, might have become one of a "troika" ruling the Sudan. Such was to have been the case had the attempted coup led by the late Hashim al-'Ata in 1971 succeeded (official papers once examined by AL-TADAMUN make this clear).

It is not clear whether this move by the American embassy in Khartoum indicates a new American policy of opening to the Sudanese leftists, or whether it is an attempt to gain access to them, similar in some respects to what the American embassy in Cairo attempted when it granted a U.S. entry visa to the internationally known leftist writer, Muhammad Sayyid Ahmad.

This leftist personality of bourgeois origins visited the United States and returned with his convictions basically unchanged.

It remains to be pointed out that the occasion for these words about Mrs Fatimah Ahmad Ibrahim is that, with the interview with her published on pages 25, 26 and 27 of this issue under the title "Women Politicians in the Sudan," AL-TADAMUN concludes a series of interviews conducted in Khartoum by our colleague, Fathal-Rahman Mahjub. The first interview was with Mrs Sarah al-Fadil, the wife of Prime Minister Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi. The second was with Dr Su'ad al-Fatih. In these three interviews, a fundamental fact emerges: The consciousness of Sudanese women calls for admiration.

Fatimah Ibrahim Discusses Role of Women

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 5-11 Jul 86 pp 25-27

[Interview with Fatimah Ahmad Ibrahim, member of the Central Committee of the Sudanese Communist Party and president of the Sudanese Women's Federation, by Fath al-Rahman Mahjub: "Women Need a Political Weapon To Realize Their Demands"; Khartoum, date not given]

[Text] Those who followed the parliamentary elections that took place in the Sudan this April observed a new phenomenon in the political arena: Women outnumbered men in registering to vote. The interest of women in registering was significant and clear, and the effect of this interest was decisive in the elections, especially since estimates indicated that women formed 54 percent of the total of those registered to vote in the Sudan.

Although the phenomenon of women's participation in the political arena is not a new matter in the Sudan, the recent election caused women to become an electoral force not to be undervalued. A striking fact was that the strong women's interest in registration was not reflected in their representation in the Constituent Assembly. Only two women representatives won from the National Islamic Front. One may go even further and say that the total number of women nominated as candidates by the political parties taken as a group was not in keeping with the proportion of females registering to vote. While some people think that this deficiency is a result of political parties that still are afraid to nominate larger numbers of women, others say that the responsibility lies with women, who still hesitate to enter the arena of politics.

AL-TADAMUN met with three women known for their activity in politics and in defense of the cause of women and had discussions with them about the problems of women in the Sudan. In the issue before the last, we published an interview with Sarah al-Fadil, who is the wife of Prime Minister al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, and has become the first woman to enter the office of the General Secretariat of the Ummah Party. In the last issue, we published a conversation with Dr Su'ad al-Fatih, one of two women representatives in the Constituent Assembly (the parliament), and a leader of the National Islamic Front. We now publish the third interview, with Fatimah Ahmad Ibrahim, who was the first Sudanese woman to enter parliament during the sixties and who is still very active in politics and in defending women's issues.

The Sudanese know of Mrs Fatimah Ahmad Ibrahim's courage and boldness in voicing her opinion, even if this frankness puts her into a position of conflict with the government. Her voice continued to be raised in opposition to the previous regime despite her being subjected to arrest, prosecution, and trial. She was one of the few opposition personalities who did not take refuge in exile or in silence about a situation with which they did not agree.

Born during the thirties to a father who was a teacher of Arabic language and Islamic education, she worked as a teacher for a brief period after her graduation in 1951, and afterwards devoted herself to defending women's issues. In 1952, she served as president of the Sudanese Women's Federation, and in 1954 as editor-in-chief of the magazine SAWT AL-MAR'AH ["The Voice of Women"]. She is now a member of the Central Committee of the Sudanese Communist Party, which she joined in the course of her efforts to liberate Sudanese women.

In the sixties, she married one of the leaders of the Sudanese trade union movement, al-Shafi' Ahmad al-Shaykh, general secretary of the World Federation of Workers' Unions, who was executed in the wake of an attempted leftist coup against the previous regime in July 1971. She has one son by him, Ahmad, who is preparing to enter university studies.

Mrs Fatimah [Ibrahim] has taken notable stands in the area of defending women's issues and in general political activity. The first women member of the Sudanese parliament, she entered parliament from the graduates' constituencies in 1965, during the second period of democracy. During the two periods of military rule, she was subjected to persecution and prosecution, spending nearly 4 years in prison under Numayri. In the elections of April 1986, she was a candidate of the democratic and socialist forces and of the communists. She did not win; had she done so, she would have become the first Sudanese woman to enter parliament among the people's representatives from a geographical constituency.

[Question] We begin with a question that some would classify as a self-evident matter: Is there, in your opinion, a women's problem?

[Answer] The women's problem is a complex and many-sided problem and has been the subject of many opinions and discussions locally and internationally. Three theories have arisen in explanation of the women's problem. The first denies that there is a women's problem: Women being weaker and less intelligent than men, it is not strange that they should occupy a lower station than men and be subjected to oppression. This opinion is the feudal or reactionary idea. I would not call it the [Islamic] traditionalist one. There are some traditionalists who harbor progressive ideas, and there are some young people who harbor reactionary ideas.

The second theory, which belongs to capitalist or bourgeois thought, acknowledges that there is a women's problem, but tries to abort the issue and divert the women's movement. This theory considers that the cause of women's backwardness is the egotism of men. In this way, it attempts to divert the

women's movement into a struggle against men, rather than a struggle together with men to change the causes of women's backwardness. This idea treats women's problems on the basis of women's relation to men and not on the basis of their relation to society.

The third and final idea is the socialist one. It asserts that there is a women's problem, as evidenced by the existence of women's organizations and movements in all parts of the world, while there exist none that unite men as a sex. The meaning of this is that men, as a sex, have no problem, while women, as a sex, have a problem. Socialist thought treats the women's problem on the basis of women's relation to society, not on the basis of their relation to men, and specifies the bases for the liberation of women. It calls, first of all, for women's equality with men and for their complete liberation from a twofold oppression: their occupying a lower status than men, on the one hand, and the social aspect related to the ownership of the means of production, on the other hand. With the transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the situation of women will be transformed. In any class society, women will remain in a lower position than men. As long, that is, as there is inequality between men, there is no place for equality between men and women. If in a class society there is one class of men that oppresses another class of men, women have no scope for liberation from oppression. This is the thread that ties the women's problem to the problem of society and to the problem of the working class.

[Question] What are the justifications and results of each of the three attitudes you have mentioned?

[Answer] Among us in the Sudan, the feudal idea is espoused by some of those who raise the banner of Islam, whether they be the National Islamic Front, the Muslim Brotherhood, or, as they called themselves in the past, the Islamic Charter Front. From their views, many erroneous conceptions have arisen, without foundation or support in science, logic, or religion. There are statements going around to the effect that women lack reason and religion, and that woman was created from man's rib. In the Noble Qur'an, there is no backing for women's lacking reason and religion or for woman's having been created from man's rib. These are all reactionary ideas wrapped in the cloak of religion. An Arab poet once blurted out:

Women are devils created for us;
I take refuge in God from the evil of the devils!

Such feudal thought attributes a single character to the female sex. This is something erroneous in logic and science, for it is not possible for the same character to be present in an entire sex. Women cannot be devils and men angels. This is an inadequate idea.

Even in modern times, we find poets and writers like al-'Aqqad in his book, "Women in the Qur'an," accusing women, as a sex, of certain ingrained character traits, as if it were possible for these to be present in the entire female sex. This is the feudal thought that does not believe there is a women's problem.

[Question] What do you mean by the capitalist or bourgeois thought that you said treats the women's problem on the basis of women's relation to men?

[Answer] The danger of this thought is that it considers women a delicate sex and advocates their avoiding politics on the ground that politics is a rough battlefield and women a delicate sex. This thought judges women by appearance: on the basis, that is, of their form and beauty, their physicality, and sexuality. It deals with them entirely as a commodity.

In capitalist societies, we therefore find women treated as a commodity. Companies compete to invent kinds of powders and cosmetics, and the society takes an interest in holding beauty contests and fashion shows where women are displayed as a commodity to be judged by appearance and figure, as measured by the parts of her body. This is a dangerous idea for women. Naturally, it is obsessed with highlighting sexual aspects and problems. We therefore find capitalist society exerting its utmost effort so that women's movements turn aside and direct their struggle against men. Thus, there have emerged perverted women's organizations that began with the idea that man is the enemy of woman and have ended with a call for dispensing with men, even in the natural relations between the sexes, thus turning into organizations for homosexuality. Such organizations are utterly remote from the problem of women.

Perverved associations such as these have received legal recognition, as has happened in the United States at the hands of Congress. As a result, we find that in America, despite its being a developed country and a leader of the capitalist world, women have even today not obtained equality with men. A working woman, for example, earns 65 percent of the income of her male colleague, despite her having the same qualification and performing the same work. Women's organizations there have thus not yet been able to achieve success in solving the women's problem. There is still a law in the United States preventing a married woman from disposing freely of her property, except with her husband's permission. True, women there have been liberated in their sexual relations and have reached the highest degrees of liberation in the cinema. This liberation, however, is aimed at woman in her feminine capacity; as a worker and citizen, she still occupies second place. Again, an Arabic poet gave the best expression to this kind of thought, when he said:

Women are fragrant herbs created for us;
Who of us does not desire to smell fragrant herbs?

Women are not all fragrant herbs. Even if they were, herbs wither, and what would their fate be? This is a view of woman purely from a sexual point of view, and it must be rejected.

[Question] You say that woman is neither a devil nor a fragrant herb. Who, then, is she?

[Answer] Socialist thought holds that woman is neither a devil nor a fragrant herb; rather, she is a socially and economically productive force. The

problem of women's oppression is part of the problem of class oppression. The women's problem therefore cannot be solved in isolation from the problems of society.

This is what we in the Women's Federation have been aware of since the founding of the organization in 1952. We have linked the struggle about women's issues to overall national struggle embodied in the struggle for democracy and its protection; the struggle to achieve political independence and economic liberation; the struggle to improve the life of the toiling masses by providing better living standards, education, and health services; by doing away with unemployment; and guaranteeing housing, clothing, food, drink, and all of peoples' needs. The women's problem will not be solved except by solving the country's problems.

Socialist thought has laid the foundation for solving women's problems by women's going out to work and by their active participation in production and in the overall work of society. It has laid down a precondition for this: It is not sufficient that women merely go out and work; society as a whole must be liberated from any class oppression and from any production relations based on class. Thus, you find that women's liberation and equality are bound up with a classless society and with women's going out into the working place and participating. Starting from this premise, we have linked the problem of women to the problem of society. The Women's Federation has continued to struggle for the rights of women and for national and social rights, in general.

[Question] What, in general, is your assessment of the kinds of social, reformist, and charitable activity that endeavor to serve the cause of women and society?

[Answer] Among us in the Sudan, for example, we find some women's associations that concentrate on the problem of female circumcision. Indeed, this is a problem, but it is not the fundamental problem. It is something that can be considered to result from the position of women. To treat it--and to treat any problem or sickness--one cannot treat the symptoms of the sickness and leave aside the disease itself. Female circumcision is related to the illiteracy common among women, to the oppression suffered by women, and to the suspicions with which women are surrounded in their relations with men. A confusion has taken place to the effect that female circumcision is part of religion or is related to religion. Therefore, one cannot treat this problem in isolation from the treatment of the women's issue and the spreading of education and consciousness among women.

Instead of expending effort and money on treating the symptoms, we ought to treat the disease itself--illiteracy--and strive to alter the position of women fundamentally. Also in this connection, I would point to a law passed in 1946 in the Sudan to combat female circumcision. The law, however, has not succeeded, because the objective causes are still present.

We in the Women's Federation take an interest in reformist and charitable aspects in addition to political activity, because we consider ourselves a

broad-based mass organization with a strong leadership that must make use of all means of activity and forms of organization that bind it to the masses of women.

Among the charitable projects supported by the Women's Federation is the sheltering of homeless children in the capital and provinces, before they turn into criminals. Another project is an anti-illiteracy campaign in which all forces--social and political, youth, students, and teachers--participate. We also have a project for building housing complexes for young people in order to facilitate marriage. However, we have perceived from the beginning and from our own experience that charity and humanitarian or reformist activity does not solve the problem. They may relieve some of the burden and some problems, but they do not solve the women's problem fundamentally. We have reached the conclusion that opening classes to eradicate illiteracy, holding meetings, or distributing charity will not solve the problems. The Women's Federation accordingly decided to enter the revolutionary struggle, in addition to reformist and charitable sorts of activity, based on the fact that the federation's mission is to include all women, whatever their orientation, inclinations, or desires. Thus, the Women's Federation differs from other women's organizations that limit themselves to charitable and reformist forms of activity.

[Question] In what manner have you in the Women's Federation traveled this different path?

[Answer] In 1953, the Women's Federation amended its constitution, detailing the rights of women and calling for a struggle for these rights. Women, at that time, were obviously suffering from a high illiteracy rate; they did not go out to work, and then overwhelming majority of women did not participate in public life. We saw that women would not be able to realize their demands unless they possessed a weapon by means of which they could become an influential political force. Therefore, we began by demanding political rights for women, on the assumption that if women obtained their political rights, they would become a political force exerting pressure and would then be able to obtain the rest of their rights. This was the tactic that the Women's Federation followed.

Concentration was therefore on demanding political rights. In 1953, Sudanese women in fact obtained the right to vote in elections, even though this right was at the time restricted to graduates. It was a partial gain, but it gave a great boost to Sudanese women, and the Women's Federation was generally successful in having women become active in politics. One of the results was that women played a large role in political activity during the first military government and in the October 1964 revolution. In our opinion, the latter was a great turning point in the life of Sudanese women. After the victory of the October revolution, Sudanese women obtained the right to be nominated and to vote without restriction. Women embarked successfully upon the experiment and were able to enter the Constituent Assembly for the first time in the elections of 1965. Two women were nominated in those elections: one representing the Muslim Sisterhood, and myself as an independent, with the Sudanese Communist Party supporting me. She did not win, but I did. In

1953, when we amended the constitution and demanded political rights, the Muslim Sisterhood was with us in the Women's Federation. However, the Muslim Sisterhood opposed the move on the ground that it was against Islamic law. Having split from the Women's Federation, they organized a broad campaign against us on that basis. In 1965, after we obtained political rights, their outlook changed; they nominated someone and entered the elections.

This contradiction between the position in 1953 and that of 1965 shows that the problem is not Islamic law, but rather political principles and goals that conflict with the rights of women.

[Question] In light of this political view of women's rights in the Sudan, what have you in the Women's Federation contributed to the women's issue?

[Answer] The stand required after my entry into Parliament was to raise every woman's demand, regardless of whether the members of parliament supported it or not; also, this was to participate in all the discussions concerning the problems of Sudanese society, in order for me to prove that women are no less interested and concerned about the problems of their country than men. Outside of Parliament, on the other hand, we decided to turn to concentrating on the struggle for the rights of working women. We therefore formed a committee and named it the Committee To Defend the Rights of Working Women. We gave a role in it to representatives from the workers', employees', and teachers' unions, and the youth and students' unions, in addition to the Women's Federation. This committee carried on a great and wide-scale struggle in which the masses of working women themselves participated.

A famous memorandum, drawing together all the demands of Sudanese women, was presented to Parliament, the political parties, the Ruling Council (the leadership of the state), and the ministers. The trade unions, side by side with the Women's Federation, continued to work for these rights, until equality in pay was realized for working women in 1967. In February 1969, working women were granted all their rights. This remained to be included in the annual budget of the state in July 1969. Before these goals were realized, in May 1969, the coup took place. After the May revolution, the Women's Federation accordingly decided to prepare a memorandum to include all women's demands: political, economic, social, and those involving the rights of the family. We presented it to Ja'far Numayri and made it a condition for our support of him. He agreed to all of it immediately and promised to implement it. So we supported him, even as large segments of the people supported him. However, in February 1970, we held a study circle on eradicating illiteracy and on training cadres, in cooperation with UNESCO and the World Democratic Federation of Women; we invited delegations from abroad to it; and, as was our procedure in the Women's Federation at all our occasions, we invited the president of the country to open the meeting and to present his opinion on women's problems. How surprised we were when Numayri stood up before the visiting delegations to say that he would never implement the demands of women, because they were imported demands! After he finished his talk--I was president of the Women's Federation--I spoke from the podium in reply to him,

saying, "We did not support you because we liked your military uniform and medals, but because you made a promise to grant women their rights. If you go back on your promise, we are not bound to support you."

The atmosphere was electrified. On the same day, Numayri gave a reception for the visiting delegations. We went to it. He confronted me there and said that I had violated protocol. I said to him, "I am not qualified in protocol and do not know the protocols. I am a struggling woman. I do not care who it is who stands against women's rights. Even if it is the president of the country, we shall raise the banner of opposition against him."

[Question] How did the decisive confrontation between you in the Women's Federation and the previous regime take place?

[Answer] In November 1970, we held a conference of the Women's Federation and invited Numayri again. He launched a strong attack against us from the platform of the conference, and we replied in kind. Shortly thereafter, he announced the suspension of the Women's Federation. This caused a division in the leadership of the Women's Federation. Those who split left began to cooperate with Ja'far Numayri in founding an alternative women's organization--what was called "the Federation of Women of the Sudan." For our part, we announced continuation of the activity of the Women's Federation as a secret organization, and we published--secretly, for the authorities forbade its publication--the magazine SAWT AL-MAR'AH ["The Voice of Women"]. The Women's Federation raised the banner of resistance to the regime, and we began to mobilize women. Under the May regime, we led housewives' marches against high prices and marches by the families of prisoners against the state security laws, and we demanded release of the prisoners.

Among the marches we led was the famous Meridian march. At that time, the conference of the (now disbanded) Federation of Women of the Sudan was about to be held in Khartoum. Since representatives from abroad had been invited to attend it, we in the Women's Federation decided to communicate our opinion of Numayri's policies to the visiting delegations staying in the Meridian Hotel. We blocked the path of the women delegates in front of the hotel. Our march refused to allow them to comply with Numayri's invitation to a reception given that day in his home. We distributed to them a memorandum in several languages. In fact, it was not feasible for them to attend the reception, and we ruined the president's reception. As a result, the leaders of the Women's Federation were arrested and sent to Umm Durman Prison. This business of arrests was repeated during the May regime, but the Women's Federation never lowered the flag of resistance. Our concentration in the federation at that time was on mobilizing women to resist. The result was that Sudanese women for the second time participated actively in toppling a regime that did not enjoy popular support, and, with the masses of the people, they restored freedom and democracy. The Women's Federation returned, and Sudanese women obtained their political rights in the text of the provisional constitution.

[Question] What is your evaluation of the result of these situations?

[Answer] The Women's Federation is now 34 years old. In the course of this period, the federation has been able to achieve almost full equality for women with their male colleagues at work. What remains includes a maternity leave of 4 months, rather than 2 months, with pay, in addition to hours for nursing. There also remains the question of equality in the housing allowance granted to workers. We have heard that this equality will take place. There also remains the establishment of a network of kindergartens and nurseries close to workplaces, so that we can guarantee the working mother that she can place her child in trustworthy hands during work hours.

Sudanese women have obtained their political rights. We in the Women's Federation find sufficient honor in the fact that Sudanese women have boldly embarked on work as judges, engineers, doctors, lawyers, diplomats, police and armed forces officers, and a range of different fields. This proves that Sudanese women have gone beyond the reactionary idea that calls for them to stay at home. In the Women's Federation, we are now concentrating on rights involving problems of personal status and on social rights in general. This is what impels the Women's Federation to mobilize women to participate actively in political life, so that this shall lead to a fundamental change in the life of the masses; realizing for those masses such needs of theirs as a better standard of living, education, health care, housing, and all required needs; leading to the creation of an economic structure that will achieve development and increased national income for the Sudan; and realizing the demands and needs of the masses.

[Question] At what point does the Women's Federation hold back from political activity? In other words, why does the federation not put forward in its name candidates in the general elections?

[Answer] We stress the need for the federation to avoid partisan affiliation, because that will not realize its basic goal of transformation into a mass organization. However, the federation calls on women to participate generally in the national struggle to preserve democracy and independence, for economic liberation, improvement of the citizen's life, and the transformation of women into an economic force. These are the problems on which the Sudanese Women's Federation is concentrating.

The federation includes within its membership women from the various political parties. Therefore, if a candidate were to come forward in its name, or if I, being a Communist, put myself forward as a candidate in the name of the federation, that might lead to divisions. Secondly, the federation is not a political party and does not possess the money or resources that would allow it to fund the campaign of any candidate. So the matter before us is for the federation to encourage women to exercise their electoral right, irrespective of their political directions. The Women's Federation's campaign to urge women to register to participate in the elections therefore did not concentrate on a particular group or party. Having finished the women's voter registration campaign, we asked the membership of the federation to suspend our activity for a time, in order to allow

allow every member to participate within her own party, and so that the federation would not be accused of being exploited for the benefit of a particular party. That is the reason why the Women's Federation did not participate in the election campaign.

[Question] Under what banner, then, did you enter the elections, and why?

[Answer] I entered them as a candidate for the socialist forces, i.e., the democrats, communists, and socialists in al-Barari district. True, I am a member of the Sudanese Communist Party, but I entered the elections as a candidate of these forces, not of the Communist Party, and in accordance with the local platform put forward by these socialist forces.

In my opinion, the issues are inseparable. When I joined the Women's Federation, I did not belong to the Communist Party. That was in 1952. I joined the Women's Federation on the basis of my being a Sudanese woman and on the basis that Sudanese women had a cause in the defense of which an organization had to be created. My membership in the Communist Party came later. The reason for that membership was the women's issue. I was looking for a solution to it and for a sound point of view, and that is what led me to socialist thought and to entering the Sudanese Communist Party.

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SUDAN

NATIONAL ISLAMIC FRONT REPRESENTATIVE INTERVIEWED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 28 Jun - 4 Jul 86 pp 25-27

[Interview with Su'ad al-Fatih al-Badawi in Khartoum; date not given]

[Text] Observers of the parliamentary elections which occurred in Sudan last April noted a new political phenomenon embodied in a preponderance of women over men among those registered to vote. The interest of women in registering was significant, conspicuous, and decisively influential in the elections. This was particularly evident in the wake of estimations that indicated that women comprise 54 percent of Sudan's registered voters.

The participation of women in the political arena is not a new phenomenon in Sudan. The latest elections, however, have made women an electoral power not to be overlooked. The intense interest of women in registering is attracting attention because this interest is not reflected in their representation in the Constituent Assembly in view of the fact that only two female representatives of the National Islamic Front [NIF] were successful candidates. Moreover, the number of female candidates fielded by the combined political parties does not accord with the percentage of women registered to vote. Some believe that this shortcoming occurred because political parties are still fearful of nominating a larger number of women. Others maintain that women are responsible for the shortcoming because they are reluctant to enter politics.

AL-TADAMUN met with three women known for their political activities and defense of women's causes, and spoke with them about women's issues in Sudan. They are Sarah al-Fadil, the wife of Prime Minister al-Sadiq al-Mahdi and the first woman to enter the office of the general secretariat of the Ummah Party; Dr Su'ad al-Fatih, one of two female representatives in the Constituent Assembly (parliament) and one of the leaders of the NIF; and Fatimah Ahmad Ibrahim, who was the first woman to enter parliament in the sixties and who is still very active in politics and the defense of women's causes.

Dr Su'ad al-Fatih al-Badawi is considered among the prominent female personalities in Sudan's political and public arena.

She is an outstanding journalist, was the publisher and editor-in-chief of the literary newspaper, AL-MANAR, and was the editor of the woman's section in Sudanese daily newspapers. She was also one of the founders of the

Sudanese Women's Union in 1952 and the secretary of the Women's Renaissance Society. She has participated in various media presentations and on radio and television in addition to numerous women's intellectual and cultural conferences in Sudan and abroad. She played a significant role in the opposition against the previous regime to the extent that she became subject to prosecution and imprisonment, and sought refuge with her family by leaving Sudan.

She has worked as an advisor to UNESCO regarding the education of girls in Saudi Arabia and as a specialist in education. She became the dean of the School of Academic Education for Girls in Saudi Arabia and the chairwoman of Islamic studies. She also worked as a full time researcher at the Islamic University of Umm Durman, and was a faculty member and assistant to the rector for girls colleges affairs at the United Arab Emirates University.

She was born in the thirties and studied at the University of Khartoum. She undertook advanced studies in London and received her doctorate in 1974 from the University of Khartoum.

In addition to her present activities as a leading member of the NIF, Dr Su'ad al-Fatih and another member of the Front, Hakamat Hasan Sayyid Ahmad, are the only female representatives in the Constituent Assembly (the Sudanese parliament).

Here is the text of the discussion whith AL-TADAMUN held with Dr Su'ad al-Fatih in here office in the NIF building in Khartoum.

[Question] How do you view the women's cause?

[Answer] A discussion of the women's cause leads us to a historical review of this subject. This cause began in an organized fashion in Europe following the industrial revolution. The rights of women in feudal Europe were completely repressed. A close examination of women's history and the role of women in the building of ancient societies and civilizations reveals that their role is all but discredited by men to the extent that women in Chinese society were considered dirt and filth. In ancient Indian society, women were bought and sold, and in Europe, women were treated as goods to be bought and sold prior to, and following, the industrial revolution. They had neither lot nor social status despite their effective participation in Europe's economic structure during the industrial revolution. Women were exploited for work and men collected their wages. Women thus became afflicted with frustration and bitterness. As education spread in Europe, women became aware of the fact that their circumstances were not in accord with their educational and cultural achievements and their general advancement as workers and participants. They therefore began to discuss their rights. They found no one, however, who would listen to them. Rather, men rejected and disputed their claims. They did not concern themselves with women's affairs until--of all people--women began to oppose this treatment. Women participated in marches and demonstrations. In England, they were even subjected to gunfire when they demanded their full economic and political rights.

Consequently, a bitter struggle arose between men and women. This struggle still continues in Europe today.

[Question] Why does this struggle continue to this day?

[Answer] Because laws, men and the workplace in Europe still consider women unequal to men in terms of intellectuals and economic endowments. This is even the case in politics despite the fact that women in a country such as Britain have attained positions such as queen and prime minister. In America, there is presently a fierce struggle being waged over what is termed the "feminist movement." The most outstanding example of this was perhaps the nomination of Geraldine Ferraro in the last American presidential elections. I was given the opportunity to become acquainted with the feminist, political movement in America. I observed from close range the extent to which women consider themselves afflicted with frustration and feelings of oppression under what is considered to be one of the most politically and economically advanced systems. Women in America still struggle with men for equal pay. It is true that American law does not stipulate that the wages of women be less than those of men. In reality, however, women receive in wages approximately 75 cents per dollar compared to men according to the latest statistics which cover up until 1985. Women are therefore subject to repression and frustration. They also suffer from continual legal prosecution solely because they are women. All of these phenomena have preoccupied the United Nations. I met with the chairwoman of the women's section at the United Nations approximately 3 or 4 years ago during a women's conference in Kuwait. She was very concerned with the rights of women, children, and the working woman. This is an important indication that women who have attained a degree of technical, political, and economic advancement still have a just cause.

[Question] What about women's causes in the Eastern Bloc?

[Answer] Regarding women in the Eastern Bloc and the Soviet Union (I visited the Soviet Union in approximately 1957), my observations pertain to the situation of men there. People in the Eastern Bloc cannot openly express their opinions. The views which they do hold, however, constitute a type of oppression directed at women. Women are subject to arduous manual labor and even repression of their femininity and motherliness. Motherhood there is not respected in view of the fact that working mothers are made miserable and their children are the property of the state which undertakes their upbringing and education.

[Question] If we go beyond the situation of women in capitalist and socialist systems, what is the situation with regard to the Islamic system?

[Answer] I state with full confidence that women have no issue with Islamic laws and the tenets of the Islamic Shari'ah. Why? Because women in the Arabian peninsula suffered from repression and lack of consideration. Islam raised them to an advanced level of humanity and made them equal to men in regard to their duties and rights. It is true that there is a distinction

between men and women. If, however, we were to weigh the rights and duties of women against those of men, we would find that they are perfectly equal. This is made clear in Islam by God's exalted statement:

"O people, I created you as man and woman and made of you peoples and tribes so that you will come to know that the most precious among you in God's view are the most godfearing."

This is a fundamental and great proclamation from God, may He be praised and exalted. The decisive criterion, therefore, is fear of God and not whether one is male or female. On this basis, women were given full economic rights. These rights are still wanting in Europe given that married women there do not have ownership rights without their husbands' consent. As for women in Islam, they have their rights. They can hire, own property, make out wills, and do as they please with their wealth. Neither men nor the state can intervene in these affairs. Likewise, there is no distinction between men and women with regard to wages. Men receive a share of what they earn and women receive a share of what they earn. Each one receives his or her wages according to the measure of his or her work. There is also no distinction with regard to political rights given that God, may he be praised and exalted, clearly stated in another proclamation:

"Male and female believers are friends to one another; they bid to honor and forbid dishonor, pray, and give charity."

Women are therefore equal to men in regard to legal power, general legal capacity, and political rights. God, may he be praised and exalted, singled them out in this verse:

"O Prophet, when believing women come to thee, to take the oath of fealty to Thee; that they will not associate in worship of any other thing whatever with God; that they will not commit adultery (or fornication); that they will not kill their children; that they will not utter slander, intentionally forging falsehood; and that they will not disobey Thee in any good matter; then do Thou receive their fealty, and pray to God for the forgiveness of their sins."

Here, God, the exalted, gives women the right to be nominated as candidates and vote in addition to their full political and social rights. Women also have the right to choose their partners in life. If they are coerced in this matter, the marriage contract is considered void and they are entitled to parental rights as are fathers. Likewise, in war and peace, women have rights which are completely equal to those of men, such as the right to hire. This was stipulated when the Prophet, peace be upon him, said to Umm Hani':

"O Umm Hani', I have hired the one whom you hired..." He made this statement when Umm Hani''s brother, 'Ali bin Abi Talib, complained to the Prophet because she had hired an idolator; her brother wanted to kill the idolator so the Prophet hired him.

Women therefore have their rights, dignity, and distinction within society. They nonetheless have numerous problems which stem from the disregard of men and women for Islam, and the intellectual invasion which has pierced Islam and caused Muslims to crave ideas outside the scope of Islam. At times they discard Islam for economic ideologies. At other times they discard it for Eastern or Western political ideologies. The Muslim has gone astray and thereby produced numerous problems. For example, in Sudan, we see that working women have a problem. They have received four-fifths of the wages received by men. This is not part of Islam. Rather, it is the result of the colonialism which repressed part of society in order to create a struggle between one part of society and another. It is in the interest of colonialism that such a struggle, be it intellectual or political, exists--that there be a struggle between men and women, between blacks and whites, between the North and the South and between different factions in society. This struggle allows colonialism to perpetuate its existence, be it an actual, material existence, or an intellectual or spiritual existence. If one must distinguish between the problem and the issue, the issue is a basic, fundamental matter, and the problem is an extraneous matter produced by the exposure of both men and women to political, economic, and intellectual colonialism. In my opinion, the matter will right itself when we choose God's revelation as arbiter, and society returns to the arbitration of Islam. In this way, all of the problems created by Muslims' disregard for their religion and the Shari'ah will be eliminated.

[Question] The women's issue continues to be significant. Is it conceivable that this issue is subject to some type of political exploitation?

[Answer] It is true that women's ignorance is exploited. The Sudanese feminist movement began in the forties. Initially, it flagged. It did not gain strength until the beginning of the fifties when the intellectual orientation of women began and the Islamic movement emerged. From the outset of this movement, women demanded their full and unmitigated rights under the Islamic Shari'ah. We struggled, thank God, and strove to achieve our rights until God willed that men listen to us.

Sudanese men differ from men in the Arab world, the Islamic world, and even the world at large. God, may He be praised and exalted, granted Sudanese men a natural, innate awareness and modesty. They support women with their awareness. They do not molest women very much as was the case in other Arab countries, nor do they treat them severely as was the case in Eastern and Western European countries. Sudanese men have supported us and Muslim men have consciously stood by our side in the Sudanese feminist movement since the beginning of the Qur'an and the Sunnah. We therefore had no great difficulty in expressing ourselves to the October 1, 1964 government. That government agreed to every memorandum which we submitted to it in the name of Muslim women. I had the honor of signing that memorandum along with Rahmah 'Abdallah (the mother of al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, may she rest in peace). Our demands included equal wages, retirement benefits, housing allowances, and the right to vote and be nominated. Agreement on that memorandum was concluded with the exception of several insignificant provisos which were abandoned.

It seems to me, however, some political elements unfortunately began to exploit women and the women's cause for limited party gains. They did so by fabricating a women's issue, forcefully distancing women from their religion, and promoting the women's liberation slogan with all of its negative European connotations. They forced this slogan upon us despite the fact that we are the bearers of the world's most advanced, civilized thinking which confirms and ensures all of our rights and duties. This exploitation, known as women's liberation, was somewhat successful in its attempt to incite women against religion and give them the impression that the Marxist or liberal ideas will ensure them a better life. The consciousness of Muslim men, women, and society, however, has begun in its entirety to turn toward Islam and reject the treatment of religion as a commercial commodity vis a vis the women's cause. The astonishing results of the current elections, which prove on the basis of accurate statistics that women constitute more than 55 percent of all voters and were the significant factor in the elections, demonstrate that the viewpoint of the Muslim woman is represented in the Constituent Assembly. These are all tangible and irrefutable indications that Sudanese Muslim society has begun to reject the commercialization of the women's cause and the exploitation of this cause for Marxist party gains.

[Question] How have the indications made by you been crystalized in the formation and practices of the NIF to which you belong?

[Answer] The NIF, which was created last April 6, began as the Islamic call began--soaring on two wings: the wing of man and the wing of woman. Women are represented in all of the Front's agencies, especially in the consultative councils which are considered equivalent to parliament in relation to the state and equivalent to a safety valve in relation to the Front. These councils formulate principles and policies, and are the highest apparatus of the NIF. There are special councils for the regions, cities, villages, and urban quarters. There is also a general consultative council. In each of these councils, you will find women joyfully serving as representatives. We come next to the political and administrative agencies of the Front where we find women representatives in the political office of which I am a member. No decision is made in the political office unless women are represented there. Then there are the missionary and administrative agencies in which women also serve as representatives. The activities of women are evident in all structures of the Front and these activities are no fewer than those of men.

With regard to the Front's concern for general feminist action, there is close coordination between the Front and feminist organizations. Foremost among such organizations is the National Feminist Front. The NIF also coordinates political and volunteer work among women with youth organizations, the most prominent of which is the Renaissance Scouts. We have our volunteer Islamic work and we have our political work which finds expression in the National Feminist Front. Numerically speaking, the number of youths affiliated with the NIF exceeds two million, and there are more than one-half million women affiliated with the National Feminist Front. The National Feminist Front now has branches in all parts of Sudan, including branches in villages and neighborhoods. This network of political, social, and volunteer work among

women and youth clearly indicates that the NIF has a fundamentally clear conception of the issue of men and women, and has never made a distinction between them. Rather, it equitably promotes society through its various agencies. In reference to government, we find that the Front did not forget its women when it began to select candidates for the elections. The Front is perhaps the only party of group in Sudan which has concerned itself with women politically. It brought women to the forefront and was finally able, following a bitter struggle, to ensure a feminist viewpoint in the Constituent Assembly. We are not obligated [to sacrifice] because of Sudan--for Sudan is the beloved--and by God, if we sacrifice our blood and lives for this homeland, we would absolutely not be doing it out of obligation. This is an indication: Women in the NIF have participated in politics, social life, culture, and voluntary and charitable works. Within the Front, women now have unions for journalists and writers and are on the verge of publishing a daily newspaper entitled THE WOMAN. The NIF has no domain where women have not tread. At this point, I would like to make it clear that the NIF has unions for all of the feminine professions. In the National Feminist Front, which is the little sister of the NIF, there are unions for women engineers, doctors, teachers, veterinarians, agronomists, middle level professionals, and workers in factories and marketplaces. We are now on the verge of also establishing a union for homemakers. We wish to further promote this work so that the work that women perform as homemakers, cooks, and governesses becomes a vocation in which women have unions, laws, and regulations supervised by the National Feminist Front. This means that our conception is comprehensive and clear to the utmost extent. Praise be to God for the NIF.

[Question] How is that vision reflected in the NIF's treatment of the issue of the nomination of women in the latest elections?

[Answer] The NIF nominated women candidates. Two of them were successful, but victory was not the ally of the third candidate in the South. At present, we hope that she and others in the South will attain the seats that they deserve in the country's legislative system following the coming elections. Perhaps the question is obvious: Why, for example, were we not nominated in the geographic districts or why were more women not nominated. The answer is that we in the Islamic Front calculated our operations very precisely. Factionalism still rules Sudanese society. We are desperately fighting to free women from the noose of factionalism, the enslavement of superstition, and the illegal domination of women by men. It is, however, a long process which requires a farsighted policy and stamina. The important thing is that two women gained victories in the initial phase. God willing, we will prepare a large number of women for the coming elections in the geographic districts. According to our calculations, women will enter the next parliament following 4 years of tireless work, the political map will change and the mentality of the Sudanese citizen, whether male or female, will change. So far, factionalism has generally controlled the mentality of men and women, and placed men above women. We Muslims in the NIF, however, always place women where God has placed them. They are bound to God's commandment pertaining to individual duty whereby they must assume responsibility for the affairs of believers and Muslims. We are therefore resolved, God willing, to increase our numbers. This is but a first step to be followed by other steps.

[Question] In view of the election results, do you expect that women will attain ministerial or constitutional posts in this government in the future.

[Answer] Mist still clouds Sudan's political climate (prior to the government's formation). It is difficult under these circumstances to predict what will happen inasmuch as we do not command a parliamentary majority. If the matter were in the hands of the NIF, the Front would place women in constitutional institutions and posts as it has done in its consultative, executive, and administrative agencies. But I hope and pray to God that the other parties do act parsimoniously toward women. Women have served as representatives in parliament and they should also serve in the cabinet. These remarks are directed to the chairman of the Ummah Party, al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, and to the leader of Democratic Union, Muhammad 'Uthman al-Mirghani, lest they forget or disregard women.

Another remark which I shall direct to all of the political parties is that they should view women in accordance with the standards of the national situation. Women are respected and supported in this assembly, and we consider ourselves representatives of women in all of Sudan including the existing parties.

[Question] Do you consider yourself an advocate of the women's cause or a politician?

[Answer] I--God save me from the word "I"--am a Muslim. I adhere to Islam and my orientation is Islamic. I represent women in an important body (the Constituent Assembly). It is true that the NIF nominated me. I represent it and am proud of this because my orientation is that of the NIF. I consider myself a woman who represents women in a country of diverse movements, affiliations, and political parties. Because Islam has a special place for minorities, calling them "ahl dhimmah," it accorded them a distinct, legal status. They have no fewer rights or duties than Muslim citizens. I therefore consider myself a representative of all Sudanese women in regard to their concerns and problems. I would not say that we have a problem because women under Islam's protection do not have a problem. We are now on the verge of reform and the elimination of injustices and problems. We therefore represent the concerns of all women, be they animists in the South, Christians, Copts, Muslims, or members of the Ummah or Democratic Unionist parties or any other party. We call on all of our sisters to join with us in the Constituent Assembly. We have had contacts with many cross-sections of our sisters who are workers and employees. We hope to learn about everything that concerns both male and female citizens alike, and work toward a solution of their problems in the Constituent Assembly. This is our work. For this reason, our work is not limited to the problems of women. We deal with the problems of the entire society, men and women alike.

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SUDAN

ANYA NYA II LEADERS SUPPORT UNITY, OPPOSE GARANG

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 16 Jun 86 pp 16-17

[Article by Jamal Isma'il: "Ethiopia Does Not Want to Solve the Problem of the South"]

[Text] At a time when endeavors are being pursued at the official, party, and popular levels in Sudan to convene the constitutional conference as a main step toward solving the problem of the South, there are those who believe that Colonel John Garang, the leader of the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), will never go to Khartoum to take part in such a conference and sign an agreement bound to end the war and achieve stability. The proponents of this view are urging the government of Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi to ignore Col John Garang "because he does not represent the South and does not work for the interest of the people of the South, but rather for the interest of Ethiopia which is using him as a "card" for achieving its own interests and not Sudan's interests." These advocates are asking the government of Sudan to hold the constitutional conference without Garang and to initiate immediate steps to establish a federal rule in the South "because a federal rule is the best solution to the problem." Federal rule advocates say that this "rule" must be within the framework of a "unified Sudan" governed by a secular constitution.

These advocates are the Anya Nya II leaders. Three of them in particular--David Kakok, the secretary general; Hoth Guor Luak, liaison officer in West Europe and the United States; and Arap Achip Akok, the information officer--were interviewed by AL-DUSTUR in London. Following are the interviews' highlights which are being published out of a desire to present various points of view about Sudan's important and most serious issue, namely, the problem of the South.

In explaining their call to ignore Garang and their affirmation of the view that he will not come to Khartoum to participate in the constitutional conference on the problem of the south, the Anya Nya II leaders contend that Col John Garang is under the complete power and influence of the Ethiopian government. He carries out its orders and implements its policies that are incompatible with Sudan's interests and aims to preserve the status quo in the South.

The Anya Nya II leaders emphasize that Ethiopia, since 1975, has been trying to exploit the problem of the South for its own political ends. In March of that year, when the Akoba insurrection took place, Numayri sent his troops to quell it, thus triggering the war that led the insurgents to take refuge in the jungles close to the Ethiopian borders. These insurgents were soon joined by some southern politicians who opposed the Addis Ababa agreement and Anya Nya II was formed as an extension of Anya Nya I. The main difference between Anya Nya I and Anya Nya II was that the new organization, by virtue of the contacts that occurred between its leaders and the political leaders of the anti-Numayri Sudanese parties, led by martyr al-Sharif Husayn al-Hindi, adopted a policy different from the separatist policy of Anya Nya I. It believed in and adopted the policy of unified Sudan and demanded equal rights for the North and the South within the framework of a united Sudan.

Policy shifted and Anya Nya II turned into a non-separatist national movement like Anya Nya I, notwithstanding that the Anya Nya II troops were the same as those of Anya Nya I. These troops stayed in the jungles fighting the Numayri regime although they remained unknown to the outside world and only known to the Sudanese government. Meanwhile, the leaders of this organization were not on good terms with the Ethiopian authorities for the latter were helping Anya Nya II, not with a view to making it strong enough to solve the problem of the South, but to using it against the Numayri regime as a pressure card to urge Numayri to stop his support of the Eritreans. The Anya Nya II leaders discovered the reason for this containment by the Addis Ababa regime, so they declared their position, saying that they did not go to the jungle to fight for Ethiopia, but rather for the sake of their own objective and cause and the problem of the South, and the struggle began.

This state of affairs persisted until the armed insurrection in Bor in 1983 when the "Bor" inhabitants sought refuge at the Ethiopian borders near Gambela and joined Anya Nya II. The Ethiopian authorities, however, who had welcomed the John Garang group, tried to stop them and their leaders from contacting Anya Nya II leaders and a plan was drawn up to contain John Garang in the hope that he would implement Ethiopian policies which the Anya Nya II had refused to implement.

This notwithstanding, some Bor leaders managed to contact Anya Nya II leaders, thus establishing coordination between the two sides. Ethiopian authorities did not welcome such a move and intensified their efforts aimed at containing Garang, flirting with his personal ambitions to assume leadership and waving before him the possibility of unlimited support if he succeeded in getting rid of those leaders who opposed Ethiopian policies and refused to be a tool in the hands of the Addis Ababa regime.

Leaders who contacted Anya Nya II included Samuel Gai and John Akot and it was agreed to set up a single organization. Anya Nya II leaders did not object and the organization was in fact set up, but none of the Anya Nya II leaders were put in leading positions in it. John Akot was elected head of the new organization (SPLM); Samuel Gai was elected commander of its army (SPLA); and Col John Garang was elected chief-of-staff and military commander of the SPLM. However, Garang rejected the election results, and with Ethiopia's backing and aid, he used force to get rid of these leaders as well as the

leading elements in Anya Nya II who had drawn up a unified program for a united unified Sudan.

Garang thus monopolized power and leadership, placing himself at the service of Ethiopian interests. Therefore, when Numayri was toppled, it became clear that Garang would not respond to the new regime's calls for peaceful negotiations on the South and would persist in escalating the war because a solution to the problem in the South would serve Ethiopia's interests [as published].

Anya Nya II leaders say that Col John Garang directs his forces from an operations room inside Ethiopia and only goes by instructions from Addis Ababa. As for the troops in the jungles, they carry out instructions they receive via their radio station in Ethiopia. They are unaware of his policies and believe that they are fighting for the South. These forces will walk out on Garang and disregard instructions from their leaders if they are made aware of the real situation and realize that the problem has been solved and the Sudanese government has recognized the rights demanded by the people of the South. Anya Nya II leaders say that Garang does not have grass root support there and that he cannot go to the South or Khartoum because the southerners want to kill him in revenge for the crimes he has committed against them. In this regard, Anya Nya II leaders emphasize that the question is not a matter of war between the Dinka tribes, to which Garang belongs, and the Nuer tribes, which Anya Nya II represents, because most of the Garang defectors who later joined Anya Nya II belong to the "Dinka."

NOTE: An Anya Nya II leader interviewed by AL-DUSTUR, Arop Achir Luak, secretary of information, belongs to the Dinka tribes and separated from Garang toward the end of 1985 when he realized that Garang refused, at Ethiopia's urging, to talk with the new regime to solve Sudan's problem.

This notwithstanding, Anya Nya II leaders acknowledge that the southerners are now split and are fighting among themselves because of Ethiopia's support of John Garang and that if some forces have stayed with Garang it is because they have no other place to go.

Should conditions in the South stabilize and general elections are held, Anya Nya II may win a majority. What is needed now, as far as Anya Nya II leaders are concerned, is for the Sudanese government to acknowledge, via the constitutional conference or prior to its convocation, the matter of granting the South federal rule within the framework of a unified Sudan. If Anya Nya II can obtain such an agreement or a pledge, it will have the ability to turn to the southerners and establish peace and stability.

Since the Dr Hasan al-Turabi group, the National Islamic Front, alluded to this matter--federal rule for the southerners, Anya Nya II in particular, on the eve of the general elections in Sudan which brought in the current government--Anya Nya II leaders, in their interview with AL-DUSTUR, emphasized their awareness that al-Turabi was aiming to realize his idea of partitioning Sudan into a North where Numayri's and al-Turabi's "Shari'ah laws" will be enforced and a Christian or "secular" South.

Anya Nya II leaders say that al-Turabi's group has discussed this matter with them, but that such talks did not culminate in an agreement because they believe that a unified Sudan is a strong Sudan and a strong Sudan cannot exist without a secular constitution that grants the South federal rule within the framework of a strong united Sudan.

Anya Nya II leaders also say that laws enacted by Numayri and al-Turabi under the heading of "Shari'ah laws" are responsible for the deteriorating situation in the South and for the race to join Garang. When Numayri left, the people of the South thought that Garang would negotiate, but he failed to do so at the urging of the Ethiopian government. Therefore, Anya Nya II rejected Garang's position and decided to enter into negotiations with the Sudanese parties. These leaders add that Ethiopian interests are the ones that are refusing to talk out of a realization that stability in the South means continued war with the Eritreans.

Anya Nya II leaders speak with sincerity about the South and not on behalf of any other regions in Sudan. They say: "We want more than a regional rule which all southerners reject. We want a federal rule within the framework of a unified Sudan. We do not want the South divided into three regions, and we do not want Sudan to be governed by two sets of laws, one for the North and one for the South, for this means partition.

"We are against partition and for Sudan's Arabism, but we do not deny Sudan's Africanism. A strong stable Sudan can only exist through strong and firm relations with our Arab and African neighbors alike."

This is what Anya Nya II emphasizes. More clearly, they say: "We are not against Arab unity because if the Arabs are brought together under such a unity, they will have more chances for cooperation. Therefore, we want the Arabs to unite because in their unity lies Sudan's strength. Indeed, we welcome the idea of Sudan as a member of the Arab League and we demand that representation of such membership not be limited to the North!

"The people of the South are not against the Arabs or Islam. We accept none other than the Arabic language as the official language of our unified Sudan."

12502

CSO: 4504/376

SUDAN

FINANCE MINISTER DISCUSSES WORLD BANK RELATIONS

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic 2 Jul 86 pp 36-37

[Interview with Dr Bashir 'Umar by Mahmud Idris: "This Is How We Will Face the World Bank"; in Khartoum, date not specified]

[Text] Whereas the former minister of finance in the transitional government, Dr 'Awad 'Abd-al-Majid, chose to resign rather than stay in a position whose policy orientations did not agree with his economic convictions and preferred that his successor, Dr Sayyid Ahmad Tayfur, complete the transitional term, holding the Sudanese economy portfolio under his arm and being satisfied with just waving a stick that cannot make "soft drinks out of salted fish," as Dr 'Awad 'Abd-al-Majid put it in his last interview with AL-YAMAMAH, the successor of the afore-mentioned ministers, Dr Bashir 'Umar, the minister of finance in the popularly-mandated government, is something else.

Besides being a professor of economics at Khartoum University and a preeminent member of the national economic team in the university's academic quarters, he is one of the most brilliant economists of al-Ummah Party. He joined the Constituent Assembly as a district representative from Kordofan region.

So will Dr Bashir actually succeed in steering the Sudanese economic ship to safe shores? This question will be answered by the course of economic events during his era. In this interview, his first with an outside Arab publication, AL-YAMAMAH tries to penetrate some of his future visions on the chart of the Sudanese people's chronic woes. How did the new minister of finance answer AL-YAMAMAH's questions?

[Question] You have inherited a woe-stricken legacy in the economic portfolio which renders your mission a very difficult one. What are the broad lines of the plans aimed at containing Sudan's economic problems as you see them?

[Answer] You are right, dear brother, about the heavy legacy the ousted regime left behind, which is generally reflected in a very large budget deficit, as well as in a general economic decline in both production and consumption.

The first step is to try to determine the degree of the decline. We are in the process of collecting substantial information about the situation in its true state and about how bad it actually is. The second step is to try or to begin immediately rationalizing the use of these meager resources by auditing government agencies and institutions through the rationalization of production institutions and generally trying to rationalize public monies by putting a stop to all forms of extravagance and conspicuous consumption and marginal and unnecessary spending.

The third step is to attempt to deal with production issues on the basis that production is the magic tool that can lead Sudan out of its economic depression. The first issue we face in this direction is the current agricultural season in view of the fact that agriculture remains the main artery of the Sudanese economy. We have seriously embarked on a program to secure agricultural imports and, thank God, we have come a long way in this regard. All we need now is a good rainy season, which is around the corner, to have another successful agricultural season and achieve surpluses in many agricultural products like last year's corn surplus which we chose to sell to government-owned banks so as to secure the Sudanese people's food needs for next year. However, if we do have a good season, we will use this surplus for export to bring in hard currency.

The same thing applies to industrial imports. We are indeed making them available to essential industries, the food industry particularly, in an attempt to raise production and secure food supplies, and perhaps some time in the near future, secure a surplus for export. Certain financial aspects have been a major cause of the decline, including, for example, government borrowing from the banking system which amounts to 4 million pounds; this is an unacceptable situation which no serious and self-respecting government can allow to persist because borrowed money is used mostly to meet the payroll and is wasted on non-production aspects. We will do our best to reduce borrowing from the bank system gradually until it can be stopped in a way that does not reflect negatively on production. Some government institutions borrow as well from the bank system, but they are the ultimate losers. We are looking into this matter to determine whether it is necessary to reduce the money mass to avoid inflation or divert it to production.

We are also looking into ways to divert the bank system's attention to production capacity in the form of loans to individuals or institutions or to corporations. We will look into the matter of requiring banks in particular to offer development loans, and also into the tax system whereby new sources of revenue are devised by including tax evaders. The tax system can be self-directing by being bound to production rather than to consumption.

One issue which is not within the finance ministry's bailiwick, but nonetheless reflects on it in the form of financial responsibilities is the state of ruin afflicting the civil service in general and the severe lack of discipline, if we may. The civil service is bloated in non-productive places. The first section of the budget takes up over two-thirds of the general budget and the development budget in salaries and wages. It is unreasonable for people to live off the state. We are looking for ways to divert this huge

number of people to actual production sectors. If such matters can be rationalized, they undoubtedly will reduce the burden on the general budget.

All these are priorities, but above all there is the priority of providing food and the necessities of life at a reasonable price to put them within the reach of the people who can then devote their time to production. As you know, the council of ministers has formed a committee made up of economic sector ministers to alleviate suffering. This committee is proceeding in full swing to achieve this goal.

[Question] In a previous interview published in a local newspaper, you said that the IMF is not a "bugaboo" and that any small country can dictate its terms to it. What is your plan to contain economic fright?

[Answer] First of all, any person wishing to negotiate with another person must prepare himself for such an undertaking. This is fundamental. As I have already mentioned, we have begun the process of putting our house in order. Part of this process is to obtain information. We are pursuing efforts in collecting information and statistics that permit us to form a completely realistic view of the Sudanese economy.

Second, we are in the process of forming several special committees of academicians and executives to provide us with answers to specific questions. For example, we have an IMF committee whose function is to shed light on the history of the IMF's entry to and dealing with Sudan and the terms it used to impose such as how such terms were accepted and under what conditions and the options available to us now in dealing with it, given the international economic data as well as Sudanese economic data. We asked them to propose rational recommendations that allow us to adhere to a Sudanese vision when sitting down with the IMF. This is what we said directly to the IMF representative who is in our midst now (the time of the interview).

We said at the same time, however, as a serious and responsible government, that we will initiate radical reform in the economic field that will somewhat allow us to achieve self-reliance in food at least and in certain important aspects of our life. For when we achieve self-reliance in one aspect of economic life, we inevitably place ourselves in a better negotiating position that undoubtedly can put a distance between us and economic fright and provide us with a climate conducive to open negotiations. This is what we have told IMF and World Bank representatives, and we intend to follow this line in our dealings with them. They have talked to us about our outstanding debts and we have candidly told them that we are unable to meet the payments presently--a fact of which they are aware.

[Question] All decisions made during the transitional year have failed to attract the desired amount of remittances from Sudanese workers abroad. Is there any intention to review these decisions?

[Answer] Yes, we are determined to review all decisions related to foreign currency dealings, owing to the fact that the foreign currency sector is one of the most important economic sectors. It is basically confined to aid and grants or export revenues or remittances by Sudanese workers abroad.

Since the first two sources are semi-frozen at present, the only other source left is the remittances, hence the interest in the flow of money via this source. We believe that, with the proper policies under favorable circumstances, this flow will increase. This is our hope and indeed our intention and we will do everything that will make this wish come true.

[Question] Foreign banks operating in Sudan have turned into a phenomenon which many feel is incompatible with the country's economic reality. Are there new policies toward these banks?

[Answer] Yes, the banking sector is one of the most important economic sectors. It has a direct influence on the wheel of production and we have our own vision in this regard. The transitional government formed a fact-finding committee to study the bank system and we are awaiting the results of the investigations and the committee's recommendation which we hope to receive very shortly. We will be guided by such recommendations in adopting appropriate measures that can render this sector an aid to production and development, rather than a marginal sector that offers money to parasitic or marginal activity.

[Question] Do you intend to adopt measures with a view to checking exorbitant prices that prevent people from buying the necessities of life?

[Answer] An effort is being made currently under the supervision of a ministerial committee comprised of the ministers of finance, industry, trade, agriculture, and the governor of the Bank of Sudan, and, with regard to the national capital, the commissioner of the capital district. Some of these measures are expeditiously aimed at containing the urgent matters, but others are either medium or long term in view of the fact that the high cost of living is not a temporary problem, but one that has a supply side and a demand side and we have to deal with both sides. This is what we are doing now. As for the details of such measures, we would rather not talk about them at the present stage for this may do more harm than good.

12502

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TUNISIA

POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN MOSQUES EXAMINED

Tunis HAQA'IQ in Arabic 22 May 86 pp 8-11

[Article: "Who Is Practicing Politics in the Mosques?"]

[Text] The month of Ramadan is witnessing unusual activity in the mosques. The majority of worshipers are now becoming concerned with prayer, and the mosques are crowded, especially at night during the prayer at sunset and the prayer performed during the nights of Ramadan.

Recently the various political currents have taken a clear stand calling for a ban on political activity inside mosques. Mosques have begun taking in worshipers at prayer time, and up to 2230 or 2300 hours at some mosques.

In an attempt to observe first-hand this use of mosques for political propaganda, HAQA'IQ conducted an investigation at five mosques in the capital and suburbs. We tried to examine the relationship between politics and the mosques.

The Worshiper and the Professional Politician

To begin with, one must point out the great difference between the throngs of worshipers who go to the mosque to perform their religious duty and the small group which goes to the mosque to meet the throngs of worshipers and steer discussion toward political promotion and doctrinal purification. This group is made up of young people whose age ranges between 16 or 17 and 25. It is a well-known fact that this phase of youth is characterized by impulsiveness and the desire to bring out one's personality. These are quite natural phenomena, as confirmed in sociology and psychiatry alike. Political activity is centered mainly on propaganda work, in other words, the attempt to attract the greatest number of worshipers possible to political positions from religious premises. Often criticism is directed against the existing political authority, and an attempt is made to compare the era of Salafiyah government to the present one. It is also worth noting that this form of propaganda was preceded by an earlier phase of propaganda through books. These books focus on various topics, the most important of which are the basic teachings and duties of Islam (prayer, fasting, etc.), the biography of the prophet, Islam in the world, Islam and the social structure, and Islam and contemporary civilization. However, these topics are not presented in their entirety to the reader without an effort to control the cultural level of the person

concerned. This propaganda activity in the beginning was mainstay of the activity which propagandists carried out in groups before the political structure was created.

If we wish to identify the most important stages of Islamic propaganda in mosques, we find that the first begins with the words written on walls all over Tunis, "Prayer is the pillar of religion." Next comes the stage of making improvements on the doctrinal duties of Islam, and finally there is the stage of propaganda through books.

Worshippers refer to the propagandists as "Khouanjiyah" [Ikhwanjiyah]. They think that there is a big difference between real Islam, which is a religion of worship and humbleness before God, and consequently a religion of humility, and the Islam of the "Khouanjiyah" which, according to some, is a political attempt to come to power under the guise of religion. However, the same worshippers who reject the "Khouanjiyah" also approve the mosques remaining far-removed from foreigners and Western elements which invade the mosque without purity or sanctity. To the same degree that worshippers oppose the extremists and fanatics, they are offended when they think that in the name of a "Khouanjiyah" blockade, elements are trying to invade the holy place without respect for the religious feelings of the Tunisian citizen.

Most of the older worshippers have expressed this view. They have reached the age of maturity and self-confidence. They describe the "Khouanjiyah" as being "small children." When we asked why, one of them said, "They have the impulsiveness of small children, and they pass judgment with remarkable speed against anyone whose opinions differ from theirs. They always try to follow the rule: "To oppose is to know." They are fanatics and reject debate, because they are not yet filled with the true Islamic religion, the religion of humility and moderation, the religion which is peace-loving."

Some of the older people who practice their religion modestly, even in their clothing (the traditional pants and the flowing cloak), told us, "Those children have preserved only the superficialities of religion. Some of them carry walking stick on the pretext that the prophet Muhammad used a walking stick, which was a staff for preaching. They also think that they should pray differently from others by placing their hands on their chests instead of leaving their hands free, as all Muslims throughout the world do." These were the comments of worshippers at a mosque in the heart of Tunis.

Foam Has No Substance

The second mosque where we joined some worshippers was in Rades, a Southern suburb. There we did not see many clusters of people despite the tremendous number of worshippers. The reason for the small number of clusters, it seems, is the large number of mosques. Anyone can enter them, even though each mosque has its patrons.

Activity intensifies at night during the evening prayer. During the day there is no activity, neither at the noon prayer or the afternoon prayer. Activity begins 15 minutes or one-half hour before the first meal after sunset during Ramadan.

It should be noted that after the evening prayer, the prayer performed during the nights of Kamadan begins at approximately 2230 or 2300 hours.

At the Rades mosque, we did not see any circles or clusters which could be interpreted as having any political significance, even though there are a large number of Salafiyah youth in Rades. However, evidence of Islamic opposition to the Islamic Tendency Movement (MTI) is clearly visible in the young men's clothing. For the most part, they consider the MTI to be degenerate. Most of these young people approve of wearing a shirt, carrying a stick in their hand and letting their beard grow as a Sunni practice which recalls the time of the prophet.

A great number of the young people noted that the MTI is an intellectual movement and nothing else, because it is incapable of coming up with a clear political program which derives its characteristics from other Islamic programs found in other Islamic countries. In addition, it is unable to present a view of the overall contradictions which are tearing Tunisian society apart. Thus, it is an intellectual movement and nothing else. The best Islamic alternative is a militant organization such as we saw in the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt or the Islamic Jihad in Lebanon. Foam has no substance.

Therefore it appears that the political activity which some people have observed in mosques does not go beyond the internal conflicts of the Islamic political movement in the country in general. In Tunis there are numerous political, religious organizations such as the Islamic Liberation Party and the Islamic Jihad. There are even some groups which adhere to Shi'ite and Iranian thought, as prescribed by the current Khomeyni regime. This is what an Islamic brother told us. He refuses to use the word "khouanji." "The word 'khouanji' is an attempt by those using it to make us less respected, because in fact we govern only through religious inspiration. We try to get our opinions and positions from the true Islamic religion. We have read the Sunna and what has been handed down. We know how great the difficulties we shoulder are, because society clings to models of Western civilization, and we will continue on course."

God Is With Those Who Are Patient

Here we note again that all of those who were willing to talk with us about politics in the mosque were young people, and they were the minority, even among the ranks of youth.

There was one young man whose beard was still new, although he was trying to grow it. He told us, "Why don't we practice politics in mosques? The Islamic religion is a social system, a political authority, an intellectual inspiration, and a cultural emanation. Why then do we refrain from pursuing our hold propaganda? The older worshipers consider this propaganda to be intervention in the doctrinal affairs of the individual. Above all, religion is a relationship between the creator and the created, between God the Omnipotent, the Merciful and man, who is inferior and those who call for political activity under religious cover are actually attacking authority."

They want to take power in the country. The faithful do not accept this. If they want power, let them organize a party and be active on the street. Let the mosques remain a place of worship, piety, love of God and communication with the Creator.

7811/12913

CSO: 4504/352

TUNISIA

NATIONAL LABOR UNION'S ISSUES DISCUSSED

Tunis LE TEMPS in French 2 July 86 p 2

[Article: "The UNTT: 'Increase Salaries in Accordance with Production'"]

[Text] Tunis (TAP)--The National Council of the Tunisian National Labor Union (UNTT), which held its periodic session on Saturday, 28 June 1986, in Farhat Hached Hall at union headquarters, under the chairmanship of Adbellaziz Bouraoui, general secretary of the organization, made known a motion which states in particular that the council:

Having listened to the speech of the general secretary and the speeches of the members of the executive bureau and of the general secretaries of the regional unions and of the federations:

- Reaffirms its adherence to the true labor movement, the Tunisian National Labor Union, founded on the principles of Farhat Hached, to redress grievances within the framework of labor union action.

It hails the commitment of the UNTT in remaining bound to those principles in all circumstances, in word and in action, and also the sincere and fruitful efforts evidenced by the executive bureau in its service to the fatherland and the labor force;

- It expresses its pride in the participation of the UNTT at the 12th Congress of the Destourian Socialist Party, which was reflected in particular in the speech of its general secretary, which received the greatest applause and was appreciated by all;

- The National Council is pleased with the recommendations included in the motions of this congress, which aim to strengthen social justice and national unity, to encourage efforts to include young persons, to guarantee permanent jobs, to perpetuate democracy, and to expand the field of participation to choices having to do with the development of the country;

- It records with pride the wise attitude adopted by the Supreme Combattant in the face of the low rate of success recorded at the baccalaureate examination;

- It records with great satisfaction the dynamic and effective role played by the UNTT delegation at the 72d session of the ILO in Geneva;
- It praises the efforts of the UNTT delegation at the Congress of the Arab Labor Organization (March 1986 in Bagdad), and its effective contribution to the re-establishment of the truth concerning the reality of the labor situation in Tunisia.

Bearing in mind world economic difficulties and their consequences for the country, which duty impels us to confront with fairness by joining the forces of all classes of people, the National Council recommends:

- Striving for action to improve salaries in accordance with production and productivity on the one hand and to guarantee a just balance in the salary scale of workers on the other hand;
- The reform of the labor code, in order to adapt it to the economic and social development of the country.

The council also recommends that action be taken to supply the UNTT with the means needed for its activities, keeping in mind the place the UNTT occupies as a labor organization that continues to prove its dedication to the labor force and to give ever-increasing satisfaction to the latter;

- The National Council reaffirms the necessity of continuing to obtain the active participation of the UNTT in developmental plans and the determination of choices, and it calls for the presence of the organization in all sectors of the national activity of the Economic and Social Council and the boards of directors of enterprises, in order to be able to explain its views and in order to guarantee the enthusiasm needed in the application of decisions, and to strengthen national unity, as well as the invulnerability and prosperity of the fatherland.

8255

CSO: 4519/138

TUNISIA

BRIEFS

HEAD OF SAUDI CIVIL DEFENSE VISITS --Tunis (TAP)--Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, minister of interior, early yesterday afternoon received at ministry headquarters Major General Hashim Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman, head of Saudi Civil Defense. The latter is presently on a visit to Tunisia. Present at the interview were Khaled Kallal, chief of the departmental staff of the minister of interior, and Colonel Sadok Znaidi, chief of Civil Defense. The interview had to do with prospects for Tunisian-Saudi Civil Defense cooperation, through the expedient of an exchange of experiences and the seventh session of the General Assembly of the International Civil Defense Organization, which will take place in Tunis on next 3 and 4 July. The minister of interior decorated Gen Hashim Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman with the insignia of Grand Officer of the Order of Civil Defense and took this occasion to praise the profound fraternal ties that unite their two countries' political administrations and their peoples. [Tunis LE TEMPS in French 26 June 86 p 2] 8255

CSO: 4519/138

KUWAIT

ROLE OF USSR AS PEACE LOVER OR DESERTER OF ARABS VIEWED

Kuwait AL-TALI'A in Arabic 10 May 86 p 32-34

[Article by 'Adil Badri: "The Soviet People Are not Interested in Entering Other Peoples' Wars"]

[Text] The situation of deterioration and decay that the Arab nation has been experiencing is no longer confined to political, military, and economic affairs only; it has extended into the realm of culture and thought. Also, it no longer stops with official institutions, but the list of institutions that have been hoping that protection would be maintained for national, democratic, progressive favoritism is long. However, a situation of intellectual despair has come about, which the Arab mind is experiencing in the present circumstances. If it is natural that the majority conscience deteriorated as a result of the economic, social, and political recessions, then it is likewise natural that the conscience of the elite will carry the torches of true understanding, scholarly thought, and clear perception in order to aliminate the counterfeiting conscience and extinguish every false conscience.

However, what the Arab media has experienced recently confirms that the worsening retrogression has covered two areas: the area of the great majority of the Arab people and the area of the elite, which have abandoned their role, whether intionally or not. This was evident throughout the 3 weeks following the American aggression on the Libyan Arab Jamhiriyah. The Arab press and the other media reported, quoting from Western writers, that the Soviet Union withdrew its fleet from Libyan ports hours before the American attack, that the Soviet Union did not do anything to support its ally in the area, and it was content in cancelling a meeting between Minister of Foreign Affairs Edward Shevardnadze and his American counterpart, George Shultz.

No Clash--Complete Surrender

In brief, the Western writers wanted to besmirch the image of the Soviet Union not only before the Libyan Arab people, but before the Arab people of other countries. This is a friend that is useless in a pinch, but a friend that hands over its friends as a gift to Washington in return for rapprochement with Washington. And naturally the only outcome possible is a search for the friendship of the other great power, that is, the United

States of America, and not clash with it, but endeavor to earn its approval. And since the approval of the United States comes only from obeying the American stipulations, this becomes then, to stop opposing American schemes in the area, which includes the following broad areas:

--Popularization of the Camp David model for ending the struggle in the area on Israeli terms.

--Ending all forms of opposition to the totality of American-Western penetration, be it political, military, economic or cultural, in the Arab and African areas.

--Cancelling all relations with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist camp and imposing a blockade around their ships, planes, and means of communication with the other countries of the world.

--Launching a "crusader war", against the socialist concept and policies of nationalization, planning, and growth as long as they originate by way of special project, and brushing aside those who believe in socialism and call for it whether they are active in parties and organizations bearing the stamp of communism or socialism or any other stamp that stresses closing the local markets and plundering multi-natural corporations.

The United States wants the world, then, on its terms, otherwise it will not be satisfied and will not back off from its direct and indirect plots and will employ every weapon it possesses to achieve what it can. The administration of Ronald Reagan does not hide this, but attests to it all the time. It justified the strike on the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya because of the role Col al-Qadhafi played in encouraging so-called terrorism, but it was not able to present one bit of evidence to confirm this. The administration has armed agents of the CIA and groups of mercenaries that fight against the desires of the Nicaraguan people on the pretext of defending the human freedom. The Reagan administration forgets, or pretends to forget, that the Nicaraguan revolution would not have succeeded without the full backing given it by the Nicaraguan people. In addition to this the Western observes that witnessed the Nicaraguan elections confirmed their integrity and the complete freedom accorded to all the candidates in their various political forays.

We do not intend to disprove the viewpoint of the US because the American administration is fighting for its own interests in the world and is even prepared to use nuclear weapons to defend its plundering the riches of the Third World. But what interests us basically is the Arab who quotes what the Western media conveys as if it were settled or an informational duty that they had to undertake, without even discussing or replying to it because not one Arab writer commented on the claims of the US and the West, in defense of the Arab mentality and Arab interests. The Soviet Union is no longer that youthful state or newborn experiment that needs propaganda from the other countries of the world. For at least 70 years the socialist experience has been established in the world. It emerged from the framework as the one country to become the program for a huge camp which holds billions of people. And, thanks to its accomplishments for the peoples for whom it has struggled, having succeeded in accomodating them, it has become the hope that the

peoples of dozens of countries in the developing world, that are striving to emerge from dependency and backwardness, struggle for with the aim of progress and social justice.

Soviet Political Priorities

The defense of Arab reason, after it reached its deplorable state, makes it incumbent that the Soviet political priorities be cast upon the international sphere and upon the tasks of the developing nations in the context of these policies. Since the success of the socialist revolution of 1917 the Soviet leadership has endeavored to prevent the outbreak of war, especially on a global scale, because in war mankind forfeits its greatest accomplishments, the economy is destroyed, and millions lose their lives in wars that do not concern them at all.

On this premise, the Soviet Union withdrew as soon as its revolution succeeded from World War I, but it fought courageously and with rare, exemplary heroism in World War II because the Nazis and Fascists endeavored more than anything else to destroy the new socialist model and everything it represented as a symbol of the liberation of mankind from exploitation and shackles. The Soviet people bore the brunt of that war as tens of millions of the finest of their sons were sent to be killed, wounded, or imprisoned, and millions more became refugees, orphans, or widows. But, in return, it emerged as a strong, firm country, capable of adapting to any condition regardless how harsh and it aided in establishing the socialist experiment in several European socialist countries whose vanguards fought against the Nazis and Fascists.

Because the war cost the world a great deal at all levels despite the fact that the atomic weapon was in its early stages, the Soviet Union endeavored to create a balance of power, not subject to convulsion, in order to prevent the outbreak of another war. It succeeded in acquiring a nuclear capability within a very short time, firmly established the socialist economy, and provided a pattern for the workers' and farmers' state, which puts everyone on the same footing and gives to each person "according to his work."

Sheltered by the balance with the Western Imperialist camp, the Soviet Union gave the Third World nations the opportunity to struggle for independence, relying on support and backing from the countries of the socialist camp. Wars of national liberation developed, acting legitimately and freely for the peoples of the earth, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries supported national liberation movements during the stages of their struggle for independence and during the stages of their free economy, so that throughout the sixties dozens of African, Asian, and Latin American countries gained independence. This would not have happened if not for the socialist camp.

The Soviet Union still supports the Third World countries that are struggling for their political, economic and social freedom without ignoring the role of the people themselves in these countries and it solely depends on the support of friends capable of settling the war of liberation and achieving victory. Accordingly, the Soviet Union does not turn away from its

international duties, however, these duties do not give the Soviet people authorization to plunge into war on behalf of other people.

What If World War Got Started?

Therefore there is a mistake in the Arab belief about good or bad intentions. The Soviet Union should have confronted the Americans in the Gulf of Surt. A confrontation such as that could have pushed the whole world into the inferno of nuclear war, killing everything and destroying the whole Middle East before the rest of the world.

On the other hand the Libyan Arab people, and not the Soviet people, are the ones concerned with the aggression, and the burden falls on the Libyans to defend their native land and its political inclinations.

If some have the view that it was incumbent on the Soviets to confront the USA, first, blame would have to be directed at the other Arab countries which did not do a single active thing to support the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya as it faced the American aggression. However, they placed their military and police resources to protect the American and Western embassies. These Arab countries have interests in confronting foreign influence in Arab territory. First, blame is to be leveled at the Arab media, which safeguarded its captivity of the reason and concern of the Arab in the framework of distracting, entertaining, and amusing programs presented to him in the form of serials, films, and narratives that do not express the true nature of this person or his aspirations.

At this point the Soviet Union's task, briefly, is to prevent the colonialist forces, with all the rashness and recklessness with which they are characterized, from igniting the fire of a universal cosmic war, and afford an opportunity to the peoples of the Third World and their liberation movements to achieve their political, economic and military independence, supported by the resources of the socialist camp. With this objective in mind, Soviet Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev has presented several initiatives to prevent the use of space in the arms race; to prevent an increase in the production of nuclear weapons and intercontinental missiles; to prevent their deployment and to free areas of the world from these deadly weapons; to reduce the forces of the two camps in Europe; and to clear the Mediterranean of American and Soviet warships.

The Soviet experts are quite sure that Washington will reject all these initiatives. This is what has actually happened, but nevertheless they are making every effort necessary to curb the aggressive American posture, which is aimed at the continuous subjugation of the Third World countries, and is not concerned with the safety of the world. We ask, as was contained in a speech by Soviet leader Gorbachev to the recent German Socialist Party conference, "What would be left of the human race and civilization if the Soviet Union behaved at the international level like the United States!"

In the framework of the Soviet defense of world peace, the Libyans fought with Soviet weapons and brought down five American aircraft. Libya and the Libyan people have continued to learn after studying the positives and negatives of the battle of last 15 and 16 April. So did the Soviets actually desert Libya: or did Arab reason become heedless of its affair?

KUWAIT

NATION'S ROLE IN FOREIGN AID VIEWED

Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 13 Jul 86 p 11

[Text]

EXETER, England, July 12 (Kuna): In the 10 years from 1974 to 1983 the Arab world received \$46 billion from Arab-Opec aid donors of which well over 80 percent was provided by the Gulf states, according to a prominent British economist.

Speaking at the Exeter conference on "The Gulf and the Arab world", the chief economist at the British Overseas Development Administration, Robert Porter, said that nearly two thirds of that money went to the front-line Arab states.

He said that the collapse of the oil market had greatly reduced the capacity of the Gulf states to provide aid.

Achievements

Since the early 1970s the GCC countries had spent enormous sums in building the infrastructure of their countries, he said.

One of the positive achievements of the aid policy had been the creation of strong development agencies in the shape of the Kuwait Fund, the Saudi Development Fund and the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, Porter said.

He paid special tribute to the prominent Kuwaiti role in launching these funds.

Porter said that Kuwait was

the first of the Gulf states to perceive the need to establish a separate institution to handle aid efforts.

Following the oil price increase in 1974, there was an "unceasing stream of visitors from all over the developing world to the Gulf capitals seeking economic support of one kind or another", he said.

Porter indicated that Kuwait also exerted a great deal of influence over the general policies of the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development.

Meanwhile, the conference also discussed the migrant workers remittances in the Arab world, especially those working in the Gulf.

A leading British professor, Dr. Ian Seccombe, stressed the importance of the GCC countries in absorbing a large number of those expatriates.

In 1981 non-national share of total employment ranged from 49 percent in Oman to 59 percent in Bahrain.

In the case of Kuwait, it was 78 percent, 85 percent in Qatar and 89 percent in the UAE. Saudi Arabia absorbed by far the largest number of migrant workers, with 49 percent of the total in 1980.

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CSO: 4400/232

KUWAIT

SECURITY SEEN AS TOPMOST DUTY OF NEW CABINET

Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 14 Jul 86 p 2

[Excerpts]

MEMBERS of Kuwait's newly-formed cabinet yesterday took the oath of office before HH the Amir.

Following the official ceremony the Amir had talks with the new ministers on issues related to the progress of Kuwait and wished them success.

Later the ministers held their first meeting, chaired by HH the Crown Prince and Premier Sheikh Saad Al-Abdullah.

Addressing the ministers Sheikh Saad listed security and economy as the main challenges. He said: "Kuwait will never succumb to terrorism and blackmail."

Realised

He told them he was sure they realised the responsibilities they had to shoulder and that they knew the government had been formed during a critical period both for Kuwait and the region.

He said the current situation was a result of both external and internal factors, but he was optimistic "that by cooperation and understanding and by sense of responsibility the government will be able to render services to

fellow citizens and to solve their problems," he said.

Policies

"We have priorities in government work, and at the top of these priorities is the issue of security.

"When I talk about security, I mean what Kuwait has gone through in the past few days, explosions here and there designed to create fear and concern among citizens," he said.

"These people thought they could bend the policies of the Kuwaiti people and government chosen upon condition that they will serve their interest in the present and future.

"Our external and internal policies stem from our will in which we see the interest of Kuwait in the present and future," he said.

Sheikh Saad said Kuwait rejected all threats and would never succumb to terrorism and blackmail. "But we will follow the course drawn for us by His Highness the Amir ... the course which aims at providing greater security and greater safety for all citizens."

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KUWAIT

PDRY-KUWAIT STATEMENT ON MIDDLE EAST CONFLICTS ISSUED

Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 16 Jul 86 p 2

[Text]

KUWAIT and South Yemen have called for greater efforts to end the Iraq-Iran war, stressing that the war jeopardized the security and stability of the region.

A statement issued at the end of an official visit to Kuwait by the South Yemeni leader, Haidar Abu Bakr Al-Attas, said Kuwait and Yemen "lauded the positive reaction to all peace initiatives" to end the Iraq-Iran war.

Identical

The statement, delivered by Kuwait's Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs, Rashed Al-Rashed, said the talks led by HH the Amir and Al-Attas, dealt with Arab and international issues of mutual concern and means of promoting bilateral cooperation in all fields.

The statement said the two countries had identical views on the need to end inter-Arab differences in order to foster Arab solidarity.

The two countries reaffirmed their support for the struggle by the Palestinian people to regain their national rights and establish an independent state, under the leadership of the PLO.

Kuwait and Yemen also expressed support for all efforts to end the Lebanese crisis and restore peace and security in Lebanon under its legal authorities.

The statement said Al-Attas extended an invitation to the Amir to visit south Yemen. The invitation was accepted, the statement said.

Clear

Before leaving Kuwait Al-Attas said his talks with the Amir dealt with ways to clear the Arab atmosphere.

He said the two countries emphasised the need to boost cooperation and coordination between states of the region to safeguard the interests of their people.

Al-Attas warned that the Arab region was the target of a Zionist-imperialist conspiracy.

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PROMINENT ROLE IN ISLAMIC RADIO GROUP SEEN

Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 5 Jul 86 p 4

[Text]

KUWAIT occupied a leading position in exchanging programmes among members of the Islamic Radio Stations Organization (Irso), the assistant undersecretary for financial and administration affairs at Kuwait's Information Ministry, Fahad Al-Hdaib, has said.

Financing

Al-Hdaib who was scheduled to leave for Saudi Arabia on Thursday to participate in a meeting of the organization's financial committee, executive council and the general assembly assigned the radio programme director, Abdelrahman Alhadi to take his place for pressing reasons.

Al-Hdaib added that the organization's meetings would discuss administrative and financial reports, the work of the programmes committee as well as endorsing the 1983/85 budget and amending the regulations of the organization.

Al-Hdaib said Kuwait as head of the permanent programme and news committee of the Irso and was an active member of the

administrative and financial permanent committee.

Expanded

"Kuwait's Information Ministry is proud of supervising and financing the first production of the organization in the French language besides its English programmes that aim to serve Asia and African Muslims, he said.

Al-Hdaib said that 35 Islamic countries now benefitted from the organization's programmes compared to six countries when it started.

He added that the organizations' services had expanded to Islamic centers and communities abroad as well as local radio stations of member-countries.

The organization played a major role in promoting the Islamic thought and countering anti-Islamic propaganda, said Al-Hdaib.

Al-Hdaib also said Kuwait had drawn up a plan for TV programming during the fifth Islamic summit due to be held in Kuwait next year.

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KUWAIT

ARAB WORLD CONSIDERED RISKY FOR INVESTMENT

Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 5 Jul 86 p 11

[Article by Susan Litherland]

[Text]

FINANCIAL experts in Kuwait have dismissed the government's call for further investments in the Arab world, saying poor financial services and political instability pose too many risks.

But a government spokesman said investment would remain a constant factor in Kuwait's policy of economic integration with other Arab countries.

A prominent banker pointed out that Kuwaiti investors had burnt their fingers on many projects in the Arab world, including the \$600 million Kanana sugar project launched in Sudan in the 1970s.

The problem he said, was at the government level: "Until investors rights are guaranteed and minimum financial services secured, the Middle East will remain a risky area."

Resources

The general manager of the Kuwait Investment Company, Hilal Al Mutairi, said: "Sudan has the resources to feed the Arab world, and Egypt has tremendous manpower, but unless they, and other Arab countries learn to manage their resources they will find it hard to attract investment."

The managing director of the government-owned Kuwait Investment Authority, Dr Fahed Al Rashed, acknowledged the difficulties, saying most unsuc-

cessful investments had failed due to a lack of laws catering to financial institutions. But he insisted Arab countries had great potential providing infrastructures were developed.

He said Kuwait was involved in Morocco, Yemen and Sudan, over which Egypt, Tunisia and Jordan have the edge. Investment range from hotels, industry, banking, insurance and real estate.

Most of these are direct investments due to the lack of well-developed bond and stock markets.

Commitments

The main market for direct investments was in the West where long term commitments were safe from unstable financial regulations according to Al Mutairi, whose company manages portfolios for financial institutions. He said Arab direct investments were far lower in poor Arab nations than in capital exporter countries such as the GCC states, where sophisticated markets cut risks.

This contradicts normal trends whereby wealthy states use natural resources and manpower in less developed countries.

An adviser to the Bank of Kuwait and the Middle East, Johnston Evans, said private investors would not risk active investments in the Middle East,

but might plump for bank shares or real estate. However, the recent drop in asset values means that individuals seeking to maximize their returns, are unlikely to move away from the West with its affluent consumer society.

The way ahead for investing in Arab countries lies in the involvement of several Arab states on single projects. This would boost Arab cooperation, particularly important in the field of agriculture to build up food security for the Arab world, claimed Al Rashed. "We have the market, and viable cultivation and processing areas," he added.

One successful example of Arab cooperation on investments was the Summed pipeline, built in Egypt during the 1970s. The Gulf states funded 50 per cent of the project at a cost of \$400 million, and the returns averaged 20 percent. Its success was due to the Egyptian government's special decree guaranteeing investors' rights, according to Al Mutairi.

Regarding the policy of promoting an industrial economy in Kuwait and the GCC states, Evans said it had largely failed due to the limited local market and a lack of raw materials and management skills...

Dr. Al Rashed emphasised caution is expanding the GCC's industrial base. Instead, he said, existing projects should be consolidated and new developments must be considered on a GCC rather than a national level.

These could explore possible industries for domestic consumption, particularly processing and packaging raw materials brought from other Arab countries.

A general mood of conservatism among investors was claimed by several financial experts, and the general Manager of the Arab European Financial Management Company, Michel Rozan, spoke of retrenchment and streamlining of activities among Kuwait's investment companies.

Private investors were plumping for lower returns on safe investments, he said, although within the European market, Kuwaitis felt secured to diversify to new countries. There has been a move to the German, French and Italian markets, while the most popular form of investments remain deposit and currency managed funds, stock markets and real estate.

Investors in Europe could expect average returns of 15 to 20 per cent on bonds and stock shares, and 20 to 40 percent on funds, Rozan added. Bond managed portfolios have been getting 25 per cent returns over the past two years.

Al Mutairi welcomed frequent Arab government calls for more inter-dependence with the Third World. "We are all in the same boat and our combined strength would allow us to negotiate with the West," he said.

He recommended India "with its democracy and well-established laws", and China with its "unique concept of investment", as serious candidates for Kuwaiti investments.

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KUWAIT

ECONOMIC TURNAROUND SEEN DELAYED AS GDP DROPS

Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 6 Jul 86 p 11

[Text]

RECENT data on 1985 Gross Domestic Product lends fresh evidence to the view that the turn around in Kuwait economic activity is not yet in the offing. According to preliminary estimates, Gross Domestic Product, undermined by unfavourable local and international conditions, stood at KD 5,943 million in 1985, down by 9.6 per cent from the previous year. The drop was more pronounced in the oil sector which retreated by 12.9 per cent. Non-oil activities contracted by 7.6 per cent to KD 2,707 million, according to Kuwait's National Bank.

Last year, crude oil exports were down by 26.2 per cent from their 1984 level of 645,000 b/d. The drop was, however, partly offset by a 14.5 per cent rise, to 476,000 b/d, in exports of refined products. The end-result was a 12.9 per cent drop in oil activities, to the exclusion of value-added in petroleum refineries which posted a positive, growth rate of 15 per cent and totalled KD 259 million.

Slowdown

According to preliminary estimates, non-oil GDP retreated by 7.6 per cent to KD 2,707 million. It was largely undermined by a marked slowdown in trade which accounts for 20 per cent of value-added in non-oil sectors. Retail and wholesale trade registered a drop of 14.9 per cent to stand at KD 542 million. Construction, with many backward and forward linkages, showed greater vulnerability to the prevailing business climate as it retreated to about KD 255 million, down by 19.8 per cent from the previous year. Value-added by financial institutions is estimated to have declined by 14.4 per cent. Activities related to transport, storage and communications — with a share of 7.3 per cent in non-oil GDP — were down by a below-average rate of 5.9 per cent. Finally manufacturing, which accounts for 9.6 per cent of value-added in non-oil sectors, witnessed a relatively limited decline of 4.2 per cent.

Consumption

GDP classification by type of expenditure shows that whereas government final consumption rose by 8.3 per cent all other expenditure items registered a negative growth. Private final consumption, which represents about half of total GDP, contracted by 13.7 per cent. Gross fixed capital formation, a key element underlying the country's growth path, registered a marked decline of 20 per cent from the previous year level of KD 1,280 million. Finally exports and imports retreated by 6.3 per cent and 7.1 per cent.

As regards the Gross National Products, it reached KD 7,330 million in 1985, down by 8.9 per cent from 1984 GNP level of KD 8,045 million. Part of the drop is attributable to a 5.6 per cent decline in foreign investment income to KD 1,387 million. Finally, GNP per capita reached KD 4,289 in 1985, a decline of 12.8 per cent from the 1984 level of KD 4,917.

GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT BY TYPE OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY
(KD MILLION)

	1 9 8 0			1 9 8 1			1 9 8 2			1 9 8 3(A)			1 9 8 5(A)		
	VALUE	SHARE	GROWTH	VALUE	SHARE	GROWTH	VALUE	SHARE	GROWTH	VALUE	SHARE	GROWTH	VALUE	SHARE	GROWTH
	(B)	RATE		(B)	RATE		(B)	RATE		(B)	RATE		(B)	RATE	
1. OIL SECTOR	5059	.	+14.5	4118	.	-18.6	2886	.	-31.9	3086	.	+10.0	2983	.	-12.9
2. NON-OIL SECTORS (C)	2388	.	+ 3.6	2620	.	+ 9.7	3192	.	+21.8	3329	.	+ 4.3	2960	.	- 6.0
-MANUFACTURING	200	9.3	+ 9.9	206	8.3	+ 3.0	231	7.6	+12.1	252	8.0	+ 9.1	259	9.6	- 4.2
-PETROLEUM REFINERIES	239	.	-39.2	136	.	-43.1	166	.	+22.1	180	.	+ 8.4	253	.	+15.0
-AGRICULT. & FISHERIES	17	0.8	3.6	28	1.1	+64.7	31	1.0	+10.7	34	1.1	+ 9.7	42	1.6	+12.6
-ELECTR. GAS & WATER	25	1.2	- 6.0	28	1.1	+12.0	33	1.1	+17.9	39	1.2	+18.2	.	.	.
-CONSTRUCTION	220	10.2	+12.8	263	10.6	+19.6	283	9.4	+ 7.6	289	9.2	+ 2.1	255	9.4	-19.8
-TRADE (WHOLESALE & RETAIL)	449	20.9	+10.1	485	19.5	+ 8.0	660	21.8	+36.1	607	19.3	- 8.0	542	20.0	-14.9
-TRANSP., STORAGE & COMM	124	5.8	+15.2	146	5.9	+17.7	174	5.8	+19.2	193	6.1	+10.9	198	7.3	- 5.9
-FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS	169	7.9	+24.9	216	8.7	+27.8	270	8.9	+25.0	300	9.5	+11.1	267	9.9	-14.4
-INSURANCE	15	0.7	-0.7	16	0.6	+ 6.7	18	0.6	+12.5	19	0.6	+5.5	.	.	.
-OTHER	930	43.3	+11.6	1097	44.2	+18.0	1327	43.9	+21.0	1417	45.0	+6.8	1144	42.3	.
3. NON-OIL GDP,															
STRICTO SENSU (D)	2149	100	+12.0	2484	100	+15.6	3026	100	+21.8	3149	100	+4.1	2707	100	- 7.6
4. GDP (1+2)	7447	.	+10.8	6738	.	- 9.5	5998	.	-11.0	6415	.	+7.0	5942	.	- 9.6

NOTES. A. PROVISIONAL.

B. CONTRIBUTION TO NON-OIL GDP, STRICTO SENSU.

C. INCLUDING PETROLEUM REFINERIES PRODUCTION.

D. EXCLUDING PETROLEUM REFINERIES PRODUCTION.

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KUWAIT

BRIEFS

EXPATRIATE LABOR FORCE REDUCTION--Kuwait is unlikely to change its present system of granting allowances and promotions to civil servants, Al Anbaa newspaper said yesterday. It also quoted responsible sources as saying the freeze on appointments in the public sector was unlikely to be lifted. Under the freeze, Kuwaitis can be appointed to administrative posts under the supplementary budget for civil service salaries and only expatriate doctors, engineers and experts where there are no Kuwaitis available can be appointed. The supplementary budget for wages in the new state budgets stands at KD 24 million for Kuwaitis and KD9 million for expatriates. The sources also said that a studies on granting study leave and scholarships to civil servants have still not been completed. [Text] [Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 9 Jul 86 p 4] /9317

SECURITY TRAINING--A total of 38 security officers from Kuwait's Interior Ministry are currently being trained overseas. The Interior Minister, Sheikh Nawaf Al Ahmad, said that on their graduation the officers would fill key posts in line with the ministry's plan to maintain a highly-qualified staff. He said the officers were studying in the US, Egypt, Jordan and Britain. [Text] [Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 7 Jul 86 p 3] /9317

AID TO SUDAN--Khartoum, July 5 (Kuna)--Kuwait is to contribute \$2 million towards a project for the rehabilitation of over 100 post and telegraph offices in Sudan, it was announced today. The \$4.6 million project, partly financed by the European Economic Community, includes the provision of equipment and staff training in addition to the introduction of an express delivery system. A delegation from the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development is due to visit Khartoum on July 23 to finalize the project and sign the agreement. The express delivery system is scheduled to begin next month. [Text] [Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 6 Jul 86 p 3] /9317

LOAN TO JORDAN--Amman, July 11 (QNA)--A number of Arab funds and banks have agreed to give loans equivalent to about KD 20.4 million to Jordan for the Zarqa River Basin project. Sources at Jordan's Planning Ministry said that the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development agreed to give a loan of KD 7 million. Sources said the total cost of the project was estimated at KD 35 million. [Text] [Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 12 Jul 86 p 12] /9317

LEBANON

FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL DISCUSSES FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Al-Sharigah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 28 Jun 86 p 14

[Article: "The Presence of the Emergency Forces in the South Will Be Extended Until Next October"]

[Text] The secretary general of the Lebanese foreign ministry, Ambassador Fu'ad al-Turk is unique among government officials: If you seek him, you find him. He is a connoisseur of poetry and expert in choosing phrases. If he wrote, his words would draw the reader; if he gave speeches, he would win hearts.

In diplomacy he is transparent, without losing the characteristic of reserve that ambassadors are known for. In al-Manaqabiyah, it suffices that he keep reiterating that "I am an official of Lebanon."

He began his conversation with AL-KHALIJ by discussing somewhat sorrowfully, the deteriorating situation in Lebanon, especially the corrosion that has begun to eat away at the economic structure. He said, "Lebanon needs to have the wisest, most honorable, and most courageous people governing it." He was most diplomatic and reserved in his answers "because of the current conditions and the volatility and ambiguity of the situation and because there are more forecasts than there is information and this forces us to carry on a dialogue and wait.

In his conversation, Ambassador al-Turk praised the cooperation of the Soviet Union and its support of the Lebanese cause. He expressed his belief that the extension of the international emergency forces in the South will last until next October 17. He also expressed his hope for more support from the United States in order to enforce Resolution 425.

Concerning the position of the diplomatic corps in Lebanon, he said that they were relying on the "understanding and magnanimity of the other countries until we put this period behind us."

He also affirmed that the security arrangements that Israel is demanding cannot be guaranteed unless the Lebanese Army and the international emergency forces extend to the "borders of the two countries" and the Israeli occupation of Southern Lebanon is ended completely and definitively.

The following is a transcript of the conversation with Ambassador al-Turk.

The South and the Extension of the Emergency Forces

[Question] What is the current situation in the South? Is there a danger that the international forces will withdraw from it when they find that Resolution 425 is being implemented?

[Answer] Israel is responsible for the International Security Council's Resolution 425 not being implemented and pressure must be put on it so that the resolution may be implemented. A precise picture cannot be crystallized until after the consultations of the deputy secretary of the United Nations, Marak Golding, have been completed and the results of his trip in the region, especially those of his discussions with Israeli officials, have been reviewed. However, the abundant facts currently available to us make us almost certain that the presence of international forces in the South will be extended at least until next October 17. France, for example, has confirmed to us that it will remain there and this is very important, not to mention the fact that the Soviet Union has a positive position, which emerged in the Security Council, as is known.

For the first time, international unanimity abounds within the Council. It is true that Moscow did not use its veto in the past, but it would abstain from voting and the resolution for extension was made with a majority and not unanimously. The unanimity that occurred this time and the consensus in the Security Council, especially between the two super powers, confirms the unanimous international will to aid Lebanon and the necessity of applying Resolution 425.

[Question] What suggestions were made to get out of the situation that currently prevails in the South?

[Answer] It is difficult to answer precisely. Before, until the time that the ideas were revealed, attention was turned to Resolution 426, which was based on the report of the secretary general of the United Nations concerning his ideas as to how the international forces should be deployed in the South and the units of the participating countries distributed. This resolution (426) in my opinion is important and the secretary general may find within its framework a solution after his consultations with the members of the Security Council.

Departure of the Embassies

[Question] How can the situation resulting from the departure of the embassies from their localities in Beirut be resolved and their employees protected from the constant danger that threatens them?

[Answer] Very few diplomatic missions have left Lebanon definitively. There are embassies that have closed temporarily, while they wait for an improvement in the security situation. Some embassies are operating at the level of charge d'affaires and not ambassador. However, the overwhelming

majority of embassies are still present and if most of them have moved to safer locations, this means that there is still an embassy and consular presence. Unfortunately, international authority cannot currently extend as far as it used to be able to. We are making efforts to ensure a minimum of security to the diplomatic corps accredited in Lebanon, and not only a minimum of security, but a normal and social life, the same that is granted to the diplomatic corps in any country of the world. However, we depend a great deal on the understanding and magnanimity of other countries, so that we may put this period behind us and return to a time in which the accredited diplomatic corps in Lebanon may enjoy all the privileges, immunities, and secure conditions that enable it to carry out its work most completely.

[Question] Isn't there a plan to treat this affair within the framework of the current political situation?

[Answer] By cooperating with the army and the internal security forces, we guarantee a minimum of security and perhaps we will now enlist the aid of some modern methods in order to improve the security situation. However, the issue is not limited to the embassies, but extends outside them to guaranteeing the safety of movement to the individuals of the diplomatic missions, because we have had many complaints about the robbing of diplomats, attacks on them, the kidnapping of some of them, and the seizure of their cars. An overall improvement depends on a favorable security climate.

[Question] You have already proposed a meeting at the level of the general staff of the state and the actors themselves for the sake of putting a limit on the dangers that threaten the security of diplomats. What happened to this proposal?

[Answer] This is true. But considering the current situation of the government, it is better that I not discuss this matter. There are many things we cannot undertake.

Cooperation of the Soviets

[Question] Based on the tone of the Soviet Union concerning the situation in the South, it appears that there are initial indications of an understanding between Lebanon and the states of the Eastern bloc. What are the limits and the background of this understanding?

[Answer] I do not want to discuss the past. However, I can confirm that we are currently finding in the Soviet Union sympathy and support for Lebanon. The proof of this is that when we asked it to take a position with regard to the extension of the international forces and their financing, it complied with the request. Then, there is another position of Moscow, which is that it is not for the linking of the Lebanese crisis to the crisis of the region and it is prepared to help us to solve the Lebanese problem without regard to its ties to the regional problem. This is what I learned when I visited the Soviet Union last January. We are

exerting all our efforts to develop and deepen these relations, starting with the given that Lebanon is a member of the non-aligned movement and would like to have excellent relations with everybody and especially with the two super powers. We wish to apply the principles of non-alignment in a practical, and not just a theoretical, way.

Relations with America

[Question] With regard to Lebanese-American relations, what is the current situation since they deteriorated relative to what they were in 1982, 1983, and 1984?

[Answer] Not too long ago I said that our relations were at one time exceptional. Today they have become normal. Of course, it is not in our interest to be on bad terms with the United States and we hope that Washington at the same time will help us with the matter of the South by pressuring Israel for the sake of the enforcement of Resolution 425. This resolution, as is known, can be summarized in three parts:

1. Assurance of complete Israeli withdrawal
2. The guarantee of international security and peace
3. Assisting the Lebanese government to extend its authority to all its territory.

We hope that the U.S. will more actively support us in this area, so that Lebanon may regain its strength, independence, unity, and peace on its land as soon as possible.

The National Resistance

[Question] Lebanon has been reproached for rejecting American advice to negotiate with Israel for security arrangements in the South and this is the reason for the continuing tension in the region. Is this true?

[Answer] Any link between Lebanon and Israel must be within the framework of the truce agreement signed at Ras al-Naqurah on 3 March 1949 between the two countries under the supervision of and through the United Nations. I would like to stress here that the guarantees or arrangements that Israel demands are present in two matters:

First, when the Lebanese Army and the international forces extend to the international borders between the two countries.

Second, there are assurances from all the Lebanese players, especially those in the South, that their responsibility is resistance in order to end the occupation of the South. As for the responsibility of liberating Palestine, it is a total Arab responsibility, not only a Lebanese responsibility. Thus, we see that the national resistance in the South is a fundamental element in the liberation and the resistance shall continue until it is achieved. There is a consensus concerning the two points mentioned, which form a kind of guarantee for Israel, that is, no operations against it will occur after its complete evacuation from Lebanon.

The Arab Countries

[Question] Lebanon was blamed at one time for choosing the Syrian option. Today we are witnessing the activities of the president of the republic with regard to Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria and the exchange of letters with Egypt. How do you interpret this opening toward several Arab camps and what are its dimensions?

[Answer] First, I believe that our option must always be the Lebanese option. As for the movement toward Arab countries, I am not the one to evaluate a matter to which the president is giving priority. However, the president has already said, "We want to have privileged relations with Syria and excellent ones with all of the Arab states and I believe that any activity in this direction is an excellent one."

[Question] Does what is happening on the international and regional horizon indicate possible solutions to the Lebanese crisis?

[Answer] I give my opinion about facts, not about predictions, and do not have an answer.

[Question] What came of Monsignor (Ashil) Silvestrini's attempts to solve the Lebanese crisis?

[Answer] Monsignor Silvestrini did not come with an initiative. He came to discover if he could make an initiative. He made the necessary contacts and it is possible, if he accepts the alternative plan, that he will begin a specific initiative on the basis of this plan's being a starting point for it.

[Question] Are there indications of renewing Lebanese-Syrian contacts?

[Answer] No comment.

[Question] What is the truth of what the newspapers have repeated concerning the existence of a European initiative?

[Answer] I know nothing about this subject. I believe that this statement is not supported by the facts.

[Question] What is your opinion about what the media has published about a certain deal between the countries of the West, and in particular Washington, Paris, and Damascus to end the problem of the captives and terrorist operations?

[Answer] I have no information to confirm this.

[Question] Are these diplomatic answers?

[Answer] No, I base my answers on the facts.

Foreign Ministry Unity

[Question] Are you satisfied with the work of the Foreign Ministry?

[Answer] Yes, I am extremely satisfied and am pleased to say that this Ministry is the organization in which the unity of the country is embodied in every sense of this word and beginning with the motto that I uttered when I first occupied the post of secretary general and that is: "I am an official of Lebanon."

[Question] There is a conflict between the president of the republic and the prime minister, who is at the same time the foreign minister. It is said that you receive contradictory instructions that confuse you. Is this true?

[Answer] Not at all. It is not true at all that there has been a doubling or inconsistency in instructions. The Foreign Ministry is completely unified and the central focus of its international contacts is currently the liberation of the South. I believe that everyone agrees on this matter and that there is no Arab Strategy.

[Question] Do you not think that the liberation of the South is a ways off, given the current international and regional climate?

[Answer] God willing, no. There is a national public will and we hope that the calls that we have made in the past to face reality will have the desired effect. The purpose is also a unified Arab strategy and we hope that the Arabs will review the subject and that a summit will be held bringing everyone together so that we may all cooperate for the sake of liberation and salvation.

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QATAR

JAPANESE EXPERTS INVITED TO SURVEY MARINE CULTURE CENTER

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 10 Jul 86 p 2

[Text]

QATAR is taking its first steps to set up a mariculture (fish-growing) centre. The Department of Fisheries has invited two Japanese experts to survey the coastal waters and submit recommendations. Qatar is no doubt taking a leaf out of the Kuwaiti and UAE book since Kuwait is way ahead in mariculture and the UAE set up a centre in Umm Al Quwain in 1983.

The Japanese experts have had previous experience in the Gulf. Dr Yoshimasa Enomoto, a fisheries expert with the Japanese Overseas Fishery Cooperation Foundation, worked in Kuwait for five-and-a-half years until 1976. Mr Hiromu Ikenoue, president of Fisheries and Aquaculture International, worked in Kuwait and later helped set up the UAE centre which he left in 1982. The two will remain here until July 26 to make a preliminary study on the project. Their visit was arranged through the Japanese Embassy.

It is surprising that mariculture has not already made great strides in the Gulf region, since the countries have long coastlines and need to find food resources. A beginning has been made already, with the Kuwait Institute of Scientific Research (KISR) having made a notable contribution. Mariculture is not capital-intensive. If anything, it needs labour and knowledge, neither too much money nor heavy equipment.

The KISR, which set up a commercial unit with the National Fisheries Company two years ago, has been able to find the process for artificial propagation of Gulf species such as hamour and subaiti.

"The contribution of the KISR and its findings are quite valuable for other Gulf countries. They do not have to start from scratch," Mr Ikenoue said. In the UAE, the rabbit fish is being farmed in commercial quantities of between seven and 10 tons a year. Studies and experiments have continued with other varieties.

Mariculture is ideal for the Gulf since it needs a coastal area of clear water, a good depth of over one metre and lack of pollution. Dr Enomoto and Mr Ikenoue are scouting for just such an area in Qatar. "The coastal area is unsuitable for agriculture or for most other revenue-earning projects. We could have mariculture which not only utilises an idle resource but produces high protein food, both for domestic consumption and export," Mr Ikenoue said.

Gulf waters are, of course different from other stretches of sea. The salinity here is quite high at about 38 or 45 parts per thousand, compared to 32 to 36 in Japan. The Gulf water is also warmer and is shallow. The marine life is not all that rich because nutrients are lacking, except around the Fao peninsula where the incoming waters of Shatt Al Arab keeps up a fresh supply. None of this

should discourage a mariculture industry, since there is enough marine life that has adapted to the conditions. A wide range of marine species can be cultured with care and hard work.

"Mariculture is not a capital-intensive industry but it is also high risk, since we are dealing with a living organism," Mr Ikenoue said. One of the chief considerations for propagating the fish, hamour for instance, is to grow the marine creatures on which it feeds. Before that, the centre must grow the microscopic animals that the feed itself feeds on! This process has been successfully established by the KISR.

Qatar consumes around 4,000 tons of fish every year, 70 per cent of which is caught by fishermen around the coast. The rest is imported from Oman, the UAE and Iran. Qatar can produce not only all that it needs but even export the fish if mariculture is successful. Only a certain variety of species can be propagated artificially at present, Mr Ikenoue said, since the studies of other species had to be taken up in detail. Their life cycle, feeding habits, habitat and other characteristics have to be studied.

Japan, which has a tradition of mariculture going back to many centuries, produces some one million

tons through mariculture. Almost all of it is consumed within the country. There is no saying whether fish from mariculture are tastier or otherwise than those from the high seas. "Some species are tastier when cultured, others tastier if from natural waters," Mr Ikenoue said. Hamour is not a variety peculiar to the Gulf alone, although it is the most popular in the region.

Hamour inhabits the entire Indian Ocean, as far as the southern coast of Japan where the popular variety is of the same family but slightly different.

The Gulf water has attractive quality: freedom from industrial pollution, Mr Ikenoue said. "The problem here is of oil pollution, quite heavy, but then the government is taking steps about it," he added. Gulf waters are free of most of the pollutants which spoil marine life in other parts of the world. All that will have to be done is to get rid of the oil patches.

Dr Enomoto and Mr Ikenoue found large oil patches during their survey of the coasts. They feel that oil pollution around Qatar is heavier than in other Gulf countries. "May be it is owing to the geographical position," Mr Ikenoue said. Fortunately, he added, the government was keenly aware of the problem.

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CSO: 4400/230

QATAR

SEWAGE PLANT IMPROVEMENT NEAR COMPLETION

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 17 Jun 86 p 2

[Text]

DOHA — The extension of the Doha South Sewage Treatment Works is expected to be completed by December, increasing by 13,000 cubic metres the receiving capacity of the plant from about 50,000 cubic metres per day.

The larger Doha West Sewage Treatment plant, covering a population of some 100,000, is also going ahead. The site work of phase one, costing QR70 million, will be completed by December 1987. Much work remains to be done to link the plant to the sewerage network.

Mohammad Misfer Al Hajri, head of the Sewerage Department, is full of plans and ideas for the network. Apart from the treatment plant in the south, which is now the work horse for the city, there are several small package plants around Doha, at Al Khor and Umm Said among others. They are used to treat the sewage collected from comparatively isolated areas and small villages.

The extension of the Doha South plant, Mr Hajri said, is costing nearly QR37 million, split between the mechanical and electrical sections. Phase one of the Doha West will receive upto 27,000 cubic metres a day, and will be linked to the sewerage network through pipelines and pumping stations. Work costing QR38 million has been awarded for part of the pipeline.

One pumping stations will be new while another will be an old contraption that will have to be refurbished. Mr Hajri's department has prepared a master plan for using the effluent (the outflow after treatment) for irrigating gardens and farms. It is an ambitious programme requiring the cooperation of the municipality and other ministries. The sewerage department itself is part of the Ministry of Public Works.

Some 16,000 cubic metres of effluent a day is already being used to irrigate municipal gardens in Doha, including plants and flowers on roundabouts and the central shoulders of the roads. Almost 13,000 cubic metres is being flushed through a pipeline network. The rest is sent by tankers. The master plan envisages an extensive network to use the effluent from the Doha South and the Doha West treatment plants.

The sewerage department has completed the effluent supply network for a large dairy farm proposed by the Ministry of Industry and Agriculture at Rakhia. It will be able to consume up to 120,000 cubic metres a day.

Doha's sewerage network to collect the flow from buildings needs further extension, Mr Hajri said. Seventy per cent of the city is already covered. The department has also prepared the design for the network in Wakra and is waiting for permission to implement the scheme. Ninety-five per cent of Umm Said

and 40 per cent of Al Khor have also been covered, Mr Hajri added.

Water consumption remains high in Qatar, with 0.27 cubic metres per capita, almost double that of the figure for a country such as England, Mr Hajri, a young official who holds a master's degree in engineering from the US, feels all this water flowing will have to have a proper drainage and recycling.

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MEANWHILE, the Water Department of the Ministry of Electricity and Water is grappling with the problem of water wastage. Not only does it mean loss to the state because water is produced at high cost and supplied at subsidised rates, it also increases the underground water table. In fact, the rising water table has become a priority for the department.

Japanese experts have been called in to study the condition and suggest ways of pumping out the excess, apart from suggesting preventive methods. The water-table in Doha has been rising steadily, thanks to the amount of water wasted in irrigating gardens, car washing and leaks. One used to have to dig over 50 metres to strike water, an official recalled recently. Now water is struck within one metre in areas such as Mushrib and is on the surface in Rayyan.

The water department has started pilot studies to depress the water table, which otherwise damages cables, foundations of buildings and is generally the potential source of a grave problem. Drainage works have been started in southern Doha and in Rayyan to improve the network. Officials are also planning to launch a campaign to educate the public, telling them how a forgotten hose can add to the general level.

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CSO: 4400/230

QATAR

IRRIGATION SYSTEM IMPROVEMENT PLANNED

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 29 Jun 86 p 2

[Text]

DOHA—An estimated 16,000 hectares of farmland is under cultivation in 850 farm holdings in Qatar. Most of this land is irrigated by precious and rapidly disappearing groundwater, the annual consumption of which, according to 1984 figures, is 94 million cubic metres (mcm).

"That is a very high rate of consumption, simply not necessary for the yield we get," says Mohammad Al Faihani, director of the Department of Agricultural and Water Research. "We should have been consuming 30 to 33mcm to keep the water balance." The department was set up in 1981 as part of the Ministry of Industry and Agriculture.

Approval awaited

Mr Faihani's principal duty has been to study groundwater sources, their recharge, farm irrigation, flooding and the implementation of steps to conserve resources. His 10-year plan to improve irrigation systems in Qatar will reduce water use and increase yield. The QR100 million plan awaits government approval. Meanwhile, the department has taken steps that move it closer to its target.

The acreage under cultivation represents only a fraction of the country's arable land. Every farm has large tracts that could be brought under cultivation, but labour, investment and returns prevent this. Farming is largely a hobby from which the owner expects little profit. The

5,000 labourers working on the farms are not trained in the proper use of water or in the farming methods required in this region.

Suitable cereals

Mechanisation is impossible because the farms are not contiguous stretches. They are mostly, in what Mr Faihani terms, a geological depression. The best soil is to be found in this depression which, according to one theory, was formed after the sea drifted away thousands of years ago. Now the contours and topography are unsuitable for mechanised farming.

Mr Faihani's department has identified several varieties of cereal which are best suited to the region. The wheat strains, for example, have been named Doha-80 and Doha-84. Experiments show that they can be made to produce a good yield with economic use of water and research has determined the amount of water required for cereals, vegetables, flowering plants and trees.

Sprinkler irrigation for cereals and fodder is considered to be the best. The department recommends rectangular pipes for vegetable irrigation, the size depending on the furrow. The bubbling system is suitable for trees such as date palms.

Groundwater at a depth of 100 to 150 metres has an increased salinity below this level, and the area near the coast, where irrigation was once possible, has been abandoned because of the depletion of groundwater. The department is trying to

discover whether proper water reservoirs can be found 1,000 metres below the surface.

Mr Faihani is now reconciled to the use of saline water for irrigation, a research station for which has been set up at Al Khor. No matter how effective the steps might be in conserving and recharging groundwater, the long-term solution, he believes, is to find cereals and plants that can thrive on saline water.

Number of wells

He hopes to improve the irrigation system in order to reduce water consumption, and farmers need to be educated in the use of the best methods. He has also recommended a limit on the number of wells that may be drilled in an area. Other steps relate to recharging groundwater, the

irony being that while groundwater for irrigation is suffering from rapid depletion, Qatar faces the problem of a high water table where it is not wanted, in urban areas for example. This is the result of another form of wasteful consumption of supplies from the piped water system. This water from desalination plants, could be diverted to recharge the groundwater.

The department's five research stations are tackling the problem from several directions, by studying the amount of water required, identifying suitable strains of cereals and vegetables, experimenting with growing them in water, coaxing sand dunes to yield fodder as well as the use of saline water for irrigation.

Mr Faihani gained his bachelor of science (hydrology) degree from the University of Arizona.

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PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

NATIONAL GROUPING LEADER 'ABD-AL-QAWI MAKAWI, INTERVIEWED

Cairo SAWT AL-JANUB AL-YAMANI in Arabic 15 Jun 86 p 4-7

[Interview with National Grouping Leader 'Abd-al-Qawi Makawi: "An important and momentous conversation with Makawi"; date and place not given; Cairo SAWT AL-JANUB AL-YAMANI in Arabic; monthly organ of the United National Front of South Yemen]

[Text] The magazine SAWT AL-JANUB AL-YAMANI is pleased to republish the press interview conducted by our sister publication, AL-AMAL, with brother struggler 'Abd-al-Qawi Makawi, secretary general of the National Grouping of Patriotic Forces of South Yemen. He talked about the tragic situation in our southern section, about national unity, about the reasons for our opposition to the fascist system in Aden, and about the attitude of the Arab and Islamic governments toward the question of our Yemeni people in the South. Here, then, is the text of this important conversation.

The issue of the South, after the recent events and the business of interference with understanding and interpretation that was mixed with them, the stand of the southern opposition, and what are seen as contradictions in the views [needs to be discussed]. The magazine AL-AMAL is pleased to have a role through dialogue, which it desired to set up with the southern opposition leaders, and is trying to understand what events took place in Aden which erupted on 13 January 1986, and the background to what took place and is taking place there continuously.

AL-AMAL met this month with Mr 'Abd-al-Qawi Makawi, secretary general of the National Grouping of Patriotic Forces in South Yemen. The following questions were addressed to him:

[Question] In your opinion, what exactly was the goal of the recent fighting in Aden?

[Answer] It is clear that the combat to which the southern part of the homeland was exposed was a struggle for power and centers of control between the various ruling tribes in Aden. For the sake of achieving this objective they did not care that blood would flow like rivers and the country would be completely devastated, and this is what actually happened.

For a number of years the struggle has blazed within the ruling party, and it has almost exploded several times were it not for foreign intervention. Despite the efforts made before the conference last October of the ruling party to keep the struggles bottled up, the craving for power, which had control of the rulers, let the conflicts pour out in military fashion, and they swept through the country. Those hurt were the sons of our people from among the unarmed countrymen who have nothing to do with these struggles.

Therefore it is quite clear that the struggle was not a struggle over an idea, doctrine, principle, or over values, since all these people pride themselves on embracing their Marxist-Leninist ideology. If only they would grasp the fact that anyone who embraces this doctrine has abandoned his Arab character and become an infidel. This doctrine is at war with the godly religions and portrays them as opium for the people. Also, the Soviet communist party recently issued instructions to establish a week calling for apostasy and opposition to Islam and Christianity. Has power made them blind to their religion so that they have become unbelievers? They know nothing about Marxism except that it is the gauge for nationalism and progressiveness and that anyone who is not a Marxist is a reactionary and an imperialist and is not patriotic. This is the deadly error. Oh, what profligate, inverted logic!

On our part we declare with all glory and pride that we belong to our Arab character, our legacy, our honor, our values, and our Yemeni Arab Islamic reality. We renounce all the false foreign concepts about our Muslim Arab homeland, no matter what source, color, or form!

[Question] What is the current situation in Aden today?

[Answer] The current situation in Aden is explosive and dreadful, and will continue to be explosive until the members of this one party roots out the surviving remainder of them or God executes a command that was written.

These days we hear about a terrible silent struggle between the 'Abd-al-Fatah Isma'il group and its followers and the other southern groups, and we hear about serious rifts among the party factions. We ask God to spare our country from the evil of tribal warfare and slaughter, which leaves its victims, ultimately, innocent people who have no power or strength.

As for the political situation, it is a system of Marxist-Leninist rule linked to foreign powers. No matter what kind of rulers sit on the thrones of power in Aden, they carry out the foreigner's orders. Marxism has been and is still harmful to our Muslim Yemeni people. Marxism and the party failed in the recent strife. Fighting broke out and tribal leanings erupted despite the fact that the Aden rulers held fast to Marxism.

Any system that does not work for achieving national unity between the various segments of the people as a stage toward achieving the unity of Yemen is a worthless system, to be rejected by our Yemeni people. The present system in Aden is to be rejected so long as it is tied to foreign domination, rejects national unity, and refuses to lay emphasis on achieving the unity of Yemen.

[Question] After discovering the extent of the conspiracy, can our problem in the South be considered an Arab Islamic problem? And in your opinion how must it be dealt with from the Arab and Islamic standpoint?

[Answer] Our problem in the southern area is an Arab Islamic problem because we are a Muslim Arab people. Yemen has been an Islamic country throughout history, and if the rulers in Aden, who are masters of the destinies of our people by force of iron and fire, withdraw from the Arab and Islamic world, then they are wrong! This is because our cause will remain an Arab Islamic one, and all the Arab Islamic countries know this. All the resolutions issued by the Arab League and the Islamic conferences recognize this completely and clearly, without doubt or confusion.

However, I want to say here that our cause as a Muslim Arab people has suffered neglect in years gone by because of some of the Arab, Islamic, and international circumstances, but the recent happenings have called the world's attention to it, and the methods of dealing with it have begun to change. In order for our case to stay on the front burner, and for the sake of the endeavor to rid our country of international communism and foreign domination, the nationalist forces must knock on every door, because if we are not active, then no one will know a thing about our cause if the followers of the truth are quiet.

The Arab and Islamic countries must understand that any further financial aid given to Aden will be used to buy more deadly weapons to bring about more fighting and more devastation and destruction. In addition to that, they will use these weapons to attack neighboring Arab countries and cause destruction. As for their principles, they will not change, but they will stick to them no matter what tactic they are using to polarize the Arab Gulf.

Add to this the fact that the plan and method that the system Aden is following is neither Arab nor Islamic. Therefore we must continue to demand that it be restricted, if not expelled from the Arab League and the Islamic conferences.

[Question] In your opinion what is the solution to the tragedy of our people in the South?

[Answer] The dossier of the party ruling in Aden is full of plots, terrible slaughter, and destruction, and it is not possible to settle this tragic situation except by achieving national unity. The ideal solution to the tragedy of our people in the South is establishing a national government that will stick to the fundamentals of Islamic law while taking into account the national welfare above every consideration. I can specify some bases for solving the tragedy of our cause. They are:

1--Establishing a unified, transitional, just, democratic, national government that will take its legislation from Islamic doctrine.

2--Extirpating the fanatic, paralyzed, divided elements that constitute the obstacle to the unity of Yemen as well as its development and cultural progress.

3--Preserving the teachings of our Islamic faith, putting a stop to the godless currents, and adhering to our national cultural heritage.

4--Guaranteeing freedom of opinion, thought, assembly, and expression to all people; as well as freedom to engage in political and educational work; and freedom to establish professional firms and cultural, educational, and philanthropic associations.

5--Building and developing the national army on a modern basis and enabling it to participate in the operation of building and developing far away from the peripheral struggles

6--Endeavoring quickly to achieve the oneness of Yemeni soil and working to establish the staunch, true oneness of the people on a popular, sound, democratic basis by providing a free democratic atmosphere in order for the desire of the Yemeni for reunification to be realized.

[Question] What is the role of the southern resistance in the next phase?

[Answer] The National Grouping of Patriotic Forces in South Yemen has been formed; this is an historic turn in the course of the struggle of the Yemeni people. It forms a natural extension of the will of our people in the southern part of Yemen. This was made necessary by the conditions of this phase, and was imposed by the full experience with the gall by which the national resistance forces have tackled the planted communist ruling system that controls our country by coercion and tyranny and with the power of iron and fire.

When the existence of the National Grouping was announced, its mission was announced: Raise the banners of the struggle in its manifold forms. We have been and are still, up to this point, engaged in a political struggle because of Arab and international conditions, but our main objective is the restoration to our land of its sovereignty, independence, and unity; that all measures for stability, security, and unity be taken for our people; the building of a shining future for the children of our people; and that all refugees from our nation be returned to their homeland under the auspices of a national democratic system which would be enjoyed by everyone under its protection in freedom and stability.

[Question] Who is the third party that you had in mind in the press conference held in Paris?

[Answer] It is my opinion and my understanding that the Yemeni Socialist Party is the framework under whose banner all ruling factions and elements in Aden come together. From this premise there are no parties in the system that are outside this framework. IT is true that there were, and still are fierce tribal struggles over power, but that does not mean any departure from the circle of the ruling party. Everything depends on the same party.

[Question] Does the National Grouping consider the previous system in Aden legitimate?

[Answer] The previous system in Aden was a part of the present system. Therefore, we have a quarrel with it and have opposed it in accordance with the principles in our national charter. And I state in general that the present system in the southern part is based on foreign domination and embraces principles and practices that are foreign to the values, legacy, and culture of our Yemeni nation. Therefore we will continue to do battle with it because, as a national unity force, we confirm that the restoration of Yemen's unity is the central and basic cause in the struggles of the Arab people, and its aspirations are toward horizons of a radiant future and toward building a secure, stable, democratic community.

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YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

PRESIDENT DISCUSSES STATUS OF THIRD FIVE-YEAR DOMESTIC GROWTH PLAN

San'a' AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 26 May 86 pp 1, 2

[Article: "At Beginning of Its 11th Ordinary Session, Permanent Committee Reviews All National and Developmental Issues and Activities in Light of Report by Brother General Secretary of General People's Congress"]

[Text] San'a'--The activities of the Permanent Committee's 11th regular session were initiated at noon yesterday under the chairmanship of brother Colonel 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, the president of the republic, the armed forces general commander, and the General People's Congress secretary general.

After the brother president, commander, and secretary general inaugurated the first meeting's activities in the name of God and of the people, the committee heard a report from the brother General People's Congress secretary general dealing with various aspects of public activity in the period between the Permanent Committee's 10th and 11th ordinary sessions. The report dealt with the spheres of administrative and economic development reflecting live interaction with the contents of the national charter and the political action program. It touched on the accomplishments achieved in the sphere of administrative development with the purpose of enhancing performance in the administrative units, pointing out that the local cooperative development councils have been supplied with qualified administrative elements to shoulder the responsibility of managing the administrative units.

In the sphere of development planning, the report pointed out that preparations are currently underway to formulate the Third 5-year Plan, which is based on the outcome of the general population census.

The report also dealt with the efforts that have been exerted and that continue to be exerted to develop the agricultural sector and enable it to achieve the largest degree possible of self-sufficiency in agricultural production.

The report further pointed out that the first phase of construction of the dam has been completed.

Regarding oil, the report noted that the exploitation of our oil resources started with the inauguration of the first oil refinery, stressing in this regard that the revenues of this wealth will be used as a mover of the economic and social development forces and that these revenues will be employed to strengthen our people's intrinsic capabilities and to develop our country's financial resources so as to achieve an agricultural and industrial renaissance. The report further points out that during our people's celebration of the anniversary of the immortal September revolution the cornerstone will be laid for the construction of the crude oil pipeline extending 450 km from the production sites in Ma'rib al-Jawf basin to al-Sulayf Port.

The report also noted the efforts that have been exerted and that continue to be exerted to rebuild the areas damaged by earthquakes and that the first consignment of prefabricated houses was delivered to the victimized citizens last March.

Regarding the unity efforts, the report touched on the efforts that have produced numerous unionist gains and accomplishments in the various spheres of unionist action with the aim of leading the unionist procession toward the day of unity, the inevitable aspiration, fate, and destiny of our people.

In his report, the brother president, commander, and secretary general stressed that our approach toward the unity issue has been and will continue to be distinguished by a historic responsibility that overcomes all problems. We are proceeding with our brothers in the southern part with the democratic dialogue that we have followed in the unity effort under all circumstances.

Regarding the domestic activity of the General People's Congress, the report noted the efforts and activities of the specialized committees, the political enlightenment symposiums, the outcome of the sixth ordinary session of the branch congresses, and the practical steps for completion of the organizational structure of the local congresses being taken by the preparatory committee to convene the branch congresses of the local units and to elect the members of their committees. The report also touched on the efforts in the sphere of building the popular organizations and institutions in their capacity as a tributary of the efforts of the General People's Congress and an entrenchment of the democratic practices.

The report also noted the importance of the state's honoring of labor in the various work sites and noted that such honors were bestowed during our people's celebration of May Day on 1 May and that that celebration reflected how broad is the base of the popular organizations and institutions.

Regarding external activity, the report noted the efforts exerted at the foreign level and the visits exchanged by delegations of the General People's Congress and delegations representing the political organizations in the fraternal and friendly countries.

The report stressed that the soundness of our political course, whose bases and landmarks are defined by the national charter, is reflected in our firm and principled positions in our relations with the fraternal and friendly

countries and in our influential role in the regional and international organizations and in the nonaligned movement. The report notes that our country has come to hold a prominent position in the world--a position which influences and is influenced by the world in a positive movement that has eliminated forever the walls of isolation erected by the backward imamate.

In his report to the General People's Congress, the brother secretary general noted the growth and expansion of the base of the relationship between the General People's Congress and the political organizations in numerous fraternal and friendly countries, stressing that this relationship is growing constantly.

The secretary general said: These relations provide a positive inlet for careful and comprehensive familiarization with our democratic experience, with our country's role in the regional and international spheres, with our eagerness to strengthen the ties of cooperation among peoples, and with our sincere and ceaseless effort to establish peaceful coexistence and to achieve world peace and security.

The report noted that the constant visits and meetings have had their positive impact, have given good impressions of our people and our country, and have added to the respect our country has gained among the world's countries and peoples.

Concluding his report, the brother secretary general asserted that the successes achieved for our country in the various aspects of our political action encourage us to exert redoubled collective effort and put us face to face with our future responsibilities and with the need to exert efforts to achieve the requirements of a promising and prosperous future for our people and our nation. Let us have greater solidarity and greater effort and production and let us achieve an organizational interaction that is aware of its responsibilities and of the requirements of this phase under the canopy of the national charter and of the objectives of the glorious 26 September revolution.

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YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

CABINET DISCUSSES MERGER OF RETIREMENT AGENCIES, OTHER ISSUES

San'a' AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 8 May 86 p 1

[Article: "Cabinet Adopts Number of Decisions and Agrees To Merge Retirement Bureau with Civil Retirement Fund"]

[Text] San'a'--The cabinet held its regular session at 0900 yesterday under the chairmanship of brother 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Abd-al-Ghani, the prime minister and a member of the Permanent Committee. After reviewing the decisions made in its previous session, the cabinet discussed the items on its agenda and adopted a number of decisions, including a decision approving the bill to amend some articles of the law concerning the creation and organization of the Agricultural Research Authority. The cabinet also approved the bill calling for merging the Retirement Office with the Retirement Fund in a single authority named the Public Retirement Authority so as to keep pace with developments in the office's and fund's activities and to be in line with similar mergers adopted by numerous fraternal Arab countries and friendly countries whose experiences in this sphere have been put to use. The new law seeks to bolster the capabilities of the Public Retirement Authority so that it may be able to deal more effectively and rapidly with the local establishments and with others in investing the fund's surplus monies, in providing the fund's services to retirees and to families of the deceased, and in developing the systems employed in the office's and the fund's activities. Moreover, the new structure of the Public Retirement Authority seeks to provide health and social services to the old and the disabled and to their families in accordance with the systems followed by the fraternal Arab countries. This law crystallizes the recommendation made by the People's Constituent Assembly and included in the minutes of the Assembly's approval of the 1985 general state budget a recommendation which called for merging the Retirement Office and the Civil Retirement Fund in a single authority. The cabinet referred the bill and the amendment to the People's Constituent Assembly so that it may complete the constitutional procedures. The cabinet also formed a special committee to discuss the working paper submitted by the Ministry of Economy and Industry on our country's investment climate and prepared in light of the Yemeni investors' conference so that this committee may examine the paper in detail and may submit a report on it to the cabinet. At the end of the meeting, the cabinet heard a number of reports submitted by the brother ministers entrusted with missions outside the country.

The first report came from the brother minister of transport and communications on his participation in the recent meeting of the 'Arabsat (Arab Space Communications Agency) General Assembly in Algeria. The report included an explanation of the results achieved by this meeting.

The second report came from the brother minister of agriculture and fish resources on his latest visit to Kuwait and his talks with brother officials of the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development which culminated with the conclusion of a loan agreement with the fund to finance part of Wadi al-Jawf agricultural project.

The third report was submitted by the brother minister of state, the general secretary of the Higher Youth and Sports Council, and one member of the Permanent Committee on his participation in the meetings of the Union of National Olympic Committees which were held in Seoul and his participation in the two meetings of the Arab and Asian groups in the Union. The report explained the results produced by these meetings.

The cabinet also discussed the issue of official workhours during the blessed month of Ramadan and agreed that work shall begin at 1100 and end at 1500, considering that last year's experiment proved that abidance by these work-hours was successful.

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YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

FEDERATION OF ARAB UNIVERSITIES TO HOLD CONFERENCE IN 1988

San'a' AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 10 May 86 p 1

[Article: "Our Country To Host Sixth Session of Conference of Arab Universities Federation"]

[Text] Amman--Dr Muhammad Nabih 'Aqil, the assistant secretary general of the Federation of Arab Universities, stated that the meetings of the sixth session of the Federation of Arab Universities' Conference will be held in the Yemen Arab Republic in 1988, pointing out that the session will discuss numerous issues concerning cooperation between the various Arab universities and the issue of higher education in the Arab homeland until the year 2000.

In a statement to the JORDANIAN NEWS AGENCY, Dr Muhammad Nabih 'Aqil described the results achieved by the symposium of the heads of the antiquities' and museums' sections of the Arab universities, held recently in San'a', as successful and fruitful, saying that the symposium achieved positive and constructive results that will contribute effectively to developing and expanding archaeological excavation activities and to restoring historical sites in the Arab countries. Dr 'Aqil also pointed out that the symposium adopted numerous resolutions aimed at enhancing cooperation between the antiquities' and museums' sections through scientific, cultural, and tourist utilization, through the exchange of expertise and research between these sections, and through conducting field surveys of the historical sites for the purpose of study and research and of exchanging memoranda on the outcome reached by such surveys.

Concluding, Dr Muhammad Nabih 'Aqil lauded the role played by the San'a' University administration and the good preparations the administration made for this symposium, thus contributing to the symposium's success and to its achievement of these results.

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YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

DESPERATE NEED FOR MEDICAL CARE IN REMOTE AREAS UNDERLINED

San'a' AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 12 May 86 p 1

[Article: "Open Letter to Local Council of Jahran Subdistrict"]

[Text] Esteemed brother chairman of the local council of Jahran-Anas Sub-district:

Greetings. You have won the trust of the subdistrict's inhabitants and this is something that honors us all because you are known for your loyalty and devotion in serving the area, bringing various services to its villages and developing cooperation among their inhabitants.

We, the inhabitants of al-Qubbah Village, have been contributing to Jahran Subdistrict's cooperation since the pioneer cooperation experiment in revolutionary Yemen and the Yemen of the national charter came into existence. No inhabitant of the village fails to pay the cash shares or installments required for cooperation. Even though the majority, rather all of, Jahran Subdistrict's villages have benefited from the area's cooperation through the construction of schools and water projects, al-Qubbah Village continues until this moment to be denied the blessings of the revolution and of the cooperative projects. We don't know what is or who is the reason for this.

To get an education, the village children are compelled to travel to the neighboring villages under the blows of a burning sun or of severe cold and they get to their schools with tired bodies and exhausted comprehension capabilities. As for water, the citizens transport it from remote distances either in their vehicles or on their donkeys, thus incurring financial burdens for the fuel used or by paying at times for the purchased water. Moreover, the medical teams have not reached this village and most of the other villages even though their children are in the direst need of vaccination against communicable diseases such as measles and whooping cough. Moreover, the livestock is in need of vaccination against diseases and epidemics. In the name of every child and every citizen in Qubbat Hathith Village and in all of the subdistrict's villages, we urge the local council of Jahran-Anas Subdistrict, especially the local council chairman of whom all expect good accomplishments, loyalty, and devotion, to devote attention to this village and others in honor of the trust given by the citizens so that this council may rise to the level of the citizens' good will. God is behind all purpose. On Behalf of al-Qubbah Village citizens,
Fawzi 'Abdallah Ahmad Husayn

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

YEMENI EMIGRANTS IN SUDAN CONTRIBUTE TO DOMESTIC GROWTH

San'a' AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 12 May 86 p 1

[Article by Abu Walid: "Yemeni Emigrants in Sudan"]

[Text] In the last quarter of the 19th century and by virtue of the difficult economic conditions experienced at the time under the canopy of the Turkish occupation, a large number of citizens from the northern part of the homeland emigrated to Aden, which was then under British occupation. They found many work opportunities in the commercial caravans engaged in maritime or supply activities. Some of the emigrants had the opportunity to get work in Europe, particularly in Britain and France, in the spheres of hard labor such as the coal mines and the steel industry. But as a result of the increasing number of such emigrants, some unemployment developed and this compelled some of the emigrants, a number of whom had already been in Europe, to head for the Eritrean shores from whence they proceeded to Alexandria and then to Europe. Because of the primitive means of transportation and of the hardships those emigrants faced, especially when traveling on beasts of burden or on foot, many of those who got tired of traveling or became sick decided to stay in the Sudanese areas which they had reached. Their decision was helped by the strong similarity between Yemen's and Sudan's customs, not to mention the simplicity and ease of life in Sudan. At the outset, those emigrants settled in Kassala and the neighboring areas, with some getting as far as Khartoum. But the major Yemeni emigration to Sudan took place in 1919 when the British imported a large number of Yemeni workers and concluded contracts with them to build al-Shaykh Barghadh Port, the present-day Port Sudan, and also to build railroads from Port Sudan to Kassala and Sannar. Yemeni emigrants thus entered Sudan via two routes: via the Red Sea by way of Sawakin and via Eritrea by way of Musawwa' and Kassala. Consequently, tens of thousands of Yemenis arrived in Sudan, exceeding the need for labor in the available spheres of work. This made some of the Yemenis seek new means of earning a livelihood in various areas and they were received with welcome by the Sudanese brothers. Moreover, the familiarity and similarity of language and religion encouraged some of the emigrants, despite the scarcity of material resources, to tie themselves to this country, to get married, to submit to the fait accompli, and to abandon the emigrant's aspiration for material profit and a quick return to the motherland. However, we must not disregard an important fact, namely that the Yemenis were able to create new businesses that had not existed previously in Sudan, such as bakeries, restaurants, and coffee shops. Some of the emigrants also engaged in agriculture and some were able to enter the small trade business.

Until 1956, the year in which the Yemeni community in Sudan was founded, this community had no unionist role or unionist framework. But in accordance with the methods applied by British colonialism under the system of supervisors, the Yemeni emigrants had shaykhs to speak for them in all of Sudan's provinces. These emigrants took part with their Sudanese brothers in the rebellion against the British occupation. At the same time, the Liberal Yemenis Organization was able to attract a large number of emigrants in Sudan, especially the prominent figures and enlightened among them. After the 1948 revolution, the emigrants split into two factions: a faction calling itself the constitution-
alists and comprised of those opposing the imam [of Yemen] and another faction comprised of those supporting the imam. This created a conflict within the shaykhs organization existing at the time. This situation continued until the inception of the July 1952 revolution when the Liberals were able to set up an office in Cairo. Their fertile field was Sudan, into which the Liberals' papers, published in Cairo, were introduced. Moreover, a large number of Yemenis, especially in East and Central Sudan, rallied under the banner of Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Hakimi. AL-SALAM, a newspaper published in Cardiff, was delivered to them regularly. However, unions were founded in succession for the Yemeni communities in the various provinces of Sudan after the founding of the first union for the community in Khartoum in 1955. In Kassala, the Yemeni community union was founded in 1956 and this was followed by community unions in Port Sudan and Madani.

The founding of these community unions contributed to participation in political life inside the homeland in the form of publications issued, subscriptions collected, and symposiums held throughout the northern and southern parts of the homeland. The Liberals continued to advance financial aid and facilities and to participate actively until the inception of the triumphant 26 September revolution.

Even though many people are unaware of the pioneering and distinguished role performed by the Yemeni community in Sudan in the wake of the inception of the 26 September revolution--and I do not exaggerate when I say that I was one of these people until recently--I realized after perusing the detailed study prepared by brother Salih al-Faqih that this community's role grew considerably after the inception of the September revolution. This role was embodied in the return of a large number of the best youth immediately after the revolution to join the National Guard and in other qualified and specialized people returning to work in their fields of specialization. Moreover, the community collected tens of thousands of Sudanese pounds to support the revolution and that money was paid in installments to our embassy in Sudan. This happened in 1963, the year in which a counter emigration from Sudan to Yemen began. By the beginning of the 1980's, only a small percentage exceeding no more than 5 percent of the Yemeni expatriates in Sudan remained there. However, it is worth noting that the branch of the General Federation of Expatriates in Sudan was founded in 1977, i.e., 1 year after the founding of the General Federation of Expatriates. Direct free elections were held in all parts of Sudan and as a result, the branch's Higher Administrative Committee, headquartered in Khartoum, was formed of the administrative committees elected for the units of Khartoum, Madani, Port Sudan, al-Qadarif, and Kassala.

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YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

FRUIT TREES SAID TO BE REPLACING QAT

San'a' AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 26 May 86 p 6

[Article by 'Ali Salih Mani' al-Naqib: "Citizens in Wadi 'Isam Uproot Qat Trees and Plant Fruit Trees"]

[Text] Wadi 'Isam area, in al-Sad Subdistrict, is located nearly 20 km south of the town of Yarim. It is an area distinguished by its charming climate and beauty and by its good-natured inhabitants. It includes a number of villages amidst which the village of Halyub is located centrally. Halyub is considered a town by virtue of the availability of services in it. Recently, a citizen opened a medical clinic in the village and this clinic is performing great and weighty services whereas in the past a sick citizen had to be taken to the town of Yarim over an unpaved road. Moreover, the village has water and electricity projects and commercial shops.

I have seen the citizens there uproot the qat trees. What has motivated me to write this note is that I visited the area at the beginning of the blessed month of Ramadan and saw some of the citizens there uprooting their qat trees, which has serious effects on our agriculture and our citizens, and replacing them with apple, orange, banana and plum trees, and other beneficial trees whose fruits they have begun to reap. With the success of their experiment, these citizens are determined to uproot the remaining qat trees and to plant more fruit trees.

Yes, I saw the citizens of the Wadi 'Isam area, with their brown arms and pure hearts, carrying hoes, shovels, axes, and other agricultural instruments and proceeding to the good and generous earth. I saw them leave behind the problems preoccupying the neighboring areas, or some of them. I saw the inhabitants of the beloved area drill and exploit more than 15 artesian wells that have turned the area into a green paradise abounding with trees and singing birds.

Thanks, O people of Wadi 'Isam. This is not strange to you, considering that your area has been called and continues to be called the green spot because your forefathers built dams whose effects continue to be felt until the present, such as Qas'an Dam and Dhi Rabi' Dam, whose praises have been sung by the Yemeni poet who said:

In the green part of Yahsub land, 80 dams gush flowing water.

Thanks and a thousand thanks to you, you who work silently and without clamor. I hope that your neighboring brothers will follow your example and the example of people like you whose fruits we eat. Through AL-TIAWRAH newspaper, I urge the officials of the Ministry of Agriculture to help you with what you need and I urge the media to focus their lights on your efforts and your area. Your work will be immortalized by the generations "and say work and God, His prophet, and the faithful shall see your work." God is always true.

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YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

ROLE OF AGRICULTURAL LOAN BANK IN ENHANCING AGRICULTURE EXAMINED

San'a AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 26 May 86 p 9

[Article by Engineer 'Abdallah Qasim al-Unsi: "Role of Agricultural Financing in Bolstering Food Security Projects"]

[Text] Objectives of Cooperative and Agricultural Loans and Their Methods of Implementation

The bank law, issued in 1983, charts the general objectives of unifying the general course of the cooperative and agricultural loans and gives utter importance to agricultural and cooperative development. These objectives are:

- A. Financing agricultural projects and related activities for the purpose of achieving the objectives of agricultural development and of enhancing the country's agricultural, livestock, and fish production (it is evident that this objective includes most of the projects that come within the framework of what may be called food security projects).
- B. Strengthening the cooperative, agricultural, and vocational organizations and associations by financing their projects, regardless of whether they are agricultural, vocational, social, or developmental projects.

An examination of these two objectives that are included in the bank law makes clear how important is the bank's role in supporting the development projects in particular. It is also worth noting that the bank is translating these objectives into tangible facts by enabling the farmers to obtain the loans they need through the so-called system of payment or through the method of loan duration. According to the first system, loans are divided into:

- 1. Direct in-kind and cash loans.
- 2. Credit facilities.
- 3. Discount of agricultural and cooperative promisory notes. This is in addition to other guarantees.

According to the second system, the loans are divided into:

- 1. Short-term loans payable within a period of no more than 1 year.
- 2. Medium-range loans payable within a period of no more than 5 years.
- 3. Long-term loans payable within a period of no more than 10 years.

Accomplishments of Cooperative and Agricultural Loan Bank in Period from 1976 to 31 September 1985

A brief summary can make clear the role performed by the bank in supporting agricultural and cooperative development through the sums of money it has made available for the development of projects for animal protein production, fish production, and the production of vegetables, fruits, and other strategic crops.

The bank spent a sum of 199 million riyals to meet the need for short-term loans used to cover the operational costs of agricultural projects, such as improved seeds, fertilizers and pesticides, and the operational costs for the projects to produce palm dates, to reclaim land, to purchase and maintain small-size agricultural equipment and chicken and livestock feed and to develop cotton cultivation and cooperative projects. The bank has also spent nearly 585 million riyals for medium-term loans used for the purchase of tractors and their accessories, for chicken, sheep and cattle projects, for fishing projects, for beehive projects, for orchard development, and for transportation and storage projects, in addition to various cooperative projects.

The bank has, moreover, spent 128,000 riyals, allocated mostly for coffee trees. This means that the bank spent in the said period nearly 784 million riyals to meet the need for the above-mentioned three kinds of loans.

This is not a small or simple figure when we take into consideration our limited resources as a developing country and if we also take into consideration the other sums of money allocated for agricultural projects in the state's general budget and in bilateral loans concluded with the various Arab and international organizations and funds concerned with this sector, especially if we add to these sums nearly 60 million riyals spent by the bank in the form of guarantees to supply fodders and chicks for cooperative projects.

Bank's Executive or Field Agencies

To make it easier for farmers and cooperatives to obtain its services in the shortest way and with the simplest procedures, the bank has increased the number of its branches operating in the various parts of the republic and has opened branch offices that cover a large part of the cultivable area. So far, the bank has 14 branches and 6 branch offices, in addition to its general administration.

Sixth, Agricultural and Cooperative Bank's Role in Supporting Food Security Projects in Period from 1976 to 31 September 1985

What has been pointed out regarding the bank's accomplishments demonstrates the great role the bank has played in supporting agricultural development with large sums of capital. The support would have been bigger had the bank's available resources been greater. To sum up, the bank's role in supporting the food security projects can be demonstrated in the following paragraphs:

1. The bank has played a major positive role in altering the primitive agricultural methods by introducing the elements of modern technology, such as improved seeds, pesticides, and varied agricultural equipment. The bank has advanced nearly 2,000 loans valued at approximately 162 million riyals for tractors only.

2. The bank has helped expand the modern irrigation system, the utilization of underground water for agriculture, and the control of irrigation canals, streams, and valleys for the purpose of utilizing a bigger part of the water available for agricultural development. The bank has advanced nearly 10,000 loans valued at 261 million riyals for the various irrigation projects.

3. The bank has contributed to increasing the acreage of the cultivable area utilized by introducing modern machinery capable of utilizing the largest area possible and by advancing loans needed for reclaiming land for agricultural purposes. It has advanced nearly 3,000 loans valued at 520 riyals for reclamation purposes.

4. The bank has exerted efforts to supply animal protein from red and white meat and from fish in order to meet the increasing local consumption need for this commodity. The bank has been able so far to meet nearly 45 percent of the total local consumption needs and has advanced 209 loans valued at 70 million riyals to chicken farms, 6 million riyals for nearly 600 loans for fattening sheep and cattle, and 8 million riyals for fishing loans.

5. The bank has advanced enough aid for vegetable and fruit farms to the point where self-sufficiency has been achieved in some crops, even with a surplus in a number of crops, such as okra, which is exported to the neighboring Arab markets.

The bank has also aided the production of strategic crops, such as wheat, by assisting the farmers in the areas producing these crops, such as al-Jawf, Ma'rib, Qa' al-Haql, and al-Bawn, with the necessary machinery.

The bank's role would have been greater had the state devoted greater attention to dealing with the problems facing the progress of its developmental activity, including the following problems:

1. Paying the bank's remaining capital which is held by the government and by the General Federation of Local Development Councils.

2. Raising bank capital with additional sums so that it may be able to meet all its obligations and to cover a large part of the farmers' needs.

3. Obtaining credit facilities from local and foreign financing resources so that the bank may re-lend them on soft terms.

4. Allocating a part of the aid advanced to the state, such as the aid given to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fish Resources, by Arab and international organizations for the bank.

5. Subsidizing a part of the interest charged for the various loans so as to lighten the burden of the farmers, especially those with a limited income, in the manner followed by some Arab development banks.
6. Aiding the cooperative associations with the guarantees required for loans so that these cooperatives may obtain more money from the bank for their development projects, considering the positive role such aid will have on the level of agricultural development.
7. Exerting efforts to overcome the obstacles facing the acquisition of the right agricultural machinery at the right time and at affordable prices.
8. Helping the bank regain the monies it has advanced to the faltering governmental agricultural projects.

Finally, I hope that I have contributed with a small amount of information on the financial aspect I have dealt with and on its role in supporting the food security projects throughout the modern Yemen, especially since the time set aside for preparing lectures has been limited and insufficient for dwelling on the details.

I also thank the Southern Heights Project which has prepared all the right conditions for the convocation of this session so that it may discuss and enrich numerous issues concerning development and agriculture and may help those in charge of development and agriculture overcome many of the existing technical, scientific, and executive obstacles.

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IRAN

IRGC CHIEF ELABORATES ON PLANS 'TO FINALIZE' GULF WAR

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 1 Jun 86 pp 2, 14

[Text] The Chief of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps [IRGC], during a press, radio, and T.V. conference yesterday morning, outlined future plans and plans already drawn up to end the war, for journalists of the mass media and said: "We have designated this year as the fateful year, despite our conscience, with all our power and without the need for modern weaponry, we will break apart the Iraqi army and with one force made up of one million men we will do battle along the entire border, and by mobilizing industry, the technical schools, and factories will secure the provision of all our war needs."

He added: "In this connection, only 500 tooling factories in Tehran will produce 4.5 million mortar shells annually."

According to ETTELA'AT's reporter: Mr Mohsen Rezai, the Chief of the IRGC at the opening of the news conference said: "The Islamic revolution of our country is at a very fateful moment in its history, and the imposed war being waged by the powers of arrogance against our revolution is at a very sensitive and determining stage."

He added: "This year, the armed forces leadership decided to put into operation big plans for continuing the battle-plan, and we have designated this year as the fateful year."

Mr Rezai reviewed the plots of the enemies of the revolution for the journalists and said: "Following the victory of the revolution, world arrogance, especially the U.S., began fomenting plots along the border and inside our country in order to draw us back to its lap and to prevent internal reforms and transformations by the revolution in the economic, political, and administrative fields."

"The objectives of world arrogance by this action in the short-term is to prevent the active and revolutionary forces of the country from establishing a revolutionary system and government."

He added: "If we could destroy the effects left over from several decades of colonialism inside the country, the return of the West to our country would have been impossible."

"If in the fields of education, economics, politics, administration, industry, and the military we are able to destroy all the traces and remnants of western and eastern colonialism, then we will have achieved complete independence."

Mr Rezai added: "The second plan of the enemy was to make us submit to the U.S. by applying pressures and taking steps in all fields. Both great world powers were in agreement that this new revolution had a foot in the political geography of the East and the West, given the existence of billions of Muslims under the colonialism of these two superpowers, and would bring about great transformations. They intended to cooperate on a policy towards us, but they needed a gendarme. Even before the completion of the revolution, the gendarme (Saddam) was ready to lead the Arab people and dominate the northern Persian Gulf. He took on this new assignment and became the center and focus of plots against our revolution."

The Chief of the IRGC said: "We in the first phase of confrontation with the Ba'athist enemies tried to create a free Islamic country, and in the second phase, until now, we on our part have only been conducting a war of resistance."

"Because, among the objectives of the revolution, were the continued transformations and internal plans for the country, one of the pressing weaknesses, was the revolutionary forces. But we did not take action in these areas so that we could use all our power in the war. Since the battle-cry was for a war of resistance and to topple the Ba'athist Party, we conducted a war of resistance."

The Chief of the IRGC said to the journalists: "The superpowers recognize nothing but power, and if we till yesterday were waging a war of resistance, today we are embarked only on the road to victory in the war, mobilizing all the resources of the country and the people."

"It is necessary that all our people, and all those outside our country be aware that Saddam and the U.S. are saying today the very same things they said on the first day in Khorramshahr."

"In those days, they were saying: You must come to a world gathering and submit to us and become a part of the U.S. (nation). And via an agreement called a peace agreement, to open the way for the U.S. to return again to our country. Using policies of deceit, which in the history of our country used to take place, pressured us daily through border threats and thus obliged us to cooperate with the rest of their non-military policies."

"Reagan today says 'Only through war can we get cooperation from others, and get back the power we lost.'"

"A peace agreement between us and Saddam would mean the return of the U.S. to our country."

He added: "Now that our brave fighters have Faw in their hands, the world is once again repeating those first words."

Human Resources of Both Countries Must Be Used In War

The Chief of the IRGC added: "Our intention was not to engage in a totally deceitful war, turn away from economic transformations, and expend all our resources on the war. In the Faw area, our fighters--150,000 of them--went up against 700,000 and fought, and on the Kheybar Islands it was the same thing. Therefore, it was clear that we were continuing to fight a war of resistance. But, today we have arrived at a sensitive point, and despite the heartfelt, moral, humanitarian wishes of our people, we have no other alternative but to engage the entire fighting capability of our people in the war. If yesterday, we were able to bring about the epic story of Faw with 150,000 men, will it not be possible with ten times that number of forces on Faw to break up the Iraqi army so that no forces will be able to resist our people?"

"Did we not fight on Faw with one tenth of the equipment of the Iraqi army? If now, throughout the border we deploy a force of several million men, will Iraq be able to endure?"

Mr Rezai, with regard to the cooperation between the Army and the Revolutionary Guards said: "We have set up a joint staff at the division level between the Army and the Revolutionary Guards which in the history of the war is unprecedented. This arrangement is in the process of being expanded."

Mr Mohsen Rezai with regard to coordination with forces operating inside Iraq said: "The use of forces inside Iraq is one of our new plans. At special times, and at specific locations, predetermined targets will be designated. In this new plan, there will be a series of regular actions and a series of vital irregular actions leading to total warfare."

Needs Of The Guards

In conclusion, the Chief of the IRGC told the journalists: "To declare their readiness, the people can fill out the form "Duty Appointment" and at each stage we will inform the people about our needs and the results. But, for now, the brothers who are on call and the groups that were in the fighting Basij must report promptly to the Revolutionary Guards camps to determine their dispatch date."

"In like manner, those forces which can be called up as a platoon, and groupings which see themselves as trained, should also report to the Revolutionary Guards centers."

"The brothers in the factories of the country capable of producing munitions and weapons should report to the Khatem ol-Anbia (military) center whose Director is acting on behalf of the armed forces leadership

guiding the Revolutionary Guards and Army forces. He (the Director) will instruct the army and the Revolutionary Guards to report to that center. Soon, that center, using information from all the forces, will call on those specializing in producing munitions, and those who have weaponry skills, and/or brothers who can be instructors for the army, Revolutionary Guards, or Basij forces in the garrison, to determine how they can participate. The needs of the battle fronts will be made known in this way."

The Chief of the IRGC said: "Until yesterday we used two percent of our manpower and twelve percent of the country's economic resources. The Imam has ordered that all must serve in the war, the decision has been made by the Director of the Khatem ol-Anbia center (who is acting for the armed forces), and instructions have been given to the Revolutionary Guards and to the army to prepare themselves for a great battle. We must make the war completely a people's war, and tap all the resources of the government and the people for the war."

Making All Aspects of the War a People's War

The new plan of the Revolutionary Guards will be announced to the people on Jerusalem Day. While up until yesterday two percent of our manpower was used, the number will be significantly increased and the fate of the war will be determined soon, during this year, by these magnificent forces of the people.

The Chief of the IRGC told the representatives of the media: "Starting today we are turning over to the people much of the war work, military training has been set up at mosques, factories, and schools."

"If until yesterday we went to the front with a limited number of forces, today tens of thousands of people across the country with the assistance and resources of the government and with the cooperation of revolutionary organizations, Islamic centers, Muslim clerics and Friday imams all will set their hands to the task to prepare the ground for a very great battle."

Basij, Factories, Technical Schools Are Actively Producing Munitions

Mr Rezai said: "In cooperation with the Education and Training establishment, all the technical schools will begin to produce munitions and military equipment. All the factories which until yesterday were involved only on the economic production front, today will also carry weapons on their shoulders and make weapons."

As an example of making the war a people's war, he said: "In the province of Tehran there are 10,000 tooling factories and we have reached an agreement with 500 of them to produce, on a monthly basis, 450 thousand mortar shells, which would be 4.5 million mortar shells per year. That is to say, with these units of production the Revolutionary Guards and army can have six-times the military production in weapons. If all the country's industry starts to produce munitions, we will no longer be faced with shortages in munitions."

Establishment of a Garrison in Tehran by the People

The Chief of the IRGC added: "In one section of Tehran the people and the Muslim clergy are busy establishing a military garrison to absorb the forces of the people, and after the necessary training these people's forces can take their place alongside the Islamic fighters." He added: "If this takes place in all the other parts of the country, the war capacity (of the country) will reach high levels, and the people who until now were resisting will achieve this result: in order to prove true the aims of the great leader and for the complete independence of the country, there is no other road but to conduct the war with greater power than heretofore to bring the war to an end in complete victory. The only way is to make the war a people's war."

The Chief of the IRGC added: "In this imposed war we do not need modern aircraft and advanced tanks. If we can activate our population which is four times that of the Iraqi forces, using light and medium sized equipment, then, God willing, with ease what we accomplished at Khoramshahr, Faw and...we can with ease prevail over the enemies and succeed."

The Chief of the IRGC said: "Starting today we are on the threshold of making this completely deceitful war a people's war. The only road to end it victoriously is this road."

Presence of Active Sisters

The Chief of the IRGC with regard to the presence of the sisters in the war said: "In some parts of industry, production and technical sectors, the sisters can participate. The presence of sisters on the field of battle has been programmed and in case of great need, will be put into effect."

Brother Rezai added: "This year ten times more troops than in the past will move to the fronts."

"But the administrative duties of the country will be turned over to our dear sisters--that is, in the factories, schools, and...the sisters will find an active role."

Current Front Situation

The Chief of the IRGC, with regard to the current situation at the fronts said: "The Iraqi forces, in order to prevent al-Fajr 10 operations, tried their hand at passive operations so that our gallant forces would get bogged down and do battle at a time and place chosen by them (the Iraqis)."

He added: "Prior to the Faw operations, the Iraqis did not apply this type of action because they had lulled themselves into believing that the war had become deadlocked. They did not believe that, with a world of espionage at their disposal, they could be surprised and suffer a severe defeat. The victory of the Islamic forces in the Faw area shook up the forces of the

enemy, as well as the political and military leadership of Iraq. From time to time they launch follow-up movements which are badly defeated. Today, our fighters in the Faw area are busy with defensive actions. The Islamic forces are preparing themselves to launch new strikes."

Forms of Assistance to Iraq from Arab Countries

The Chief of the IRGC with regard to the assistance given by Arab countries to the Iraqi regime said: "The military forces of the Arab countries have not entered the war, but they are giving Iraq more economic resources in the form of laborers and employees to free Iraqis from administrative, factory, and commercial duties so they can serve in the war."

They are also sending military and police equipment to Iraq.

The Chief of the IRGC with regard to Iraq air attack on border towns and economic centers of the country said: "We, specifically, in this field are paying them back in the same way. All our fighters have tried to respond to these cowardly acts and they have been successful."

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IRAN

ARTICLE ANALYZES DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN ISLAMIC REGIME

London KEYHAN in Persian 26 Jun 86 p 6

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Article by Nader Kushan]

[Text] Abolhasan Banisadr, the first Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, recently commented on Mas'oud Rajavi's move from Paris to Baghdad. Among other things, he said that France is wrong to think that by throwing a bait in front of Khomeyni, it could normalize the relations between the two governments. He added that they (the French) should learn from Reagan. Even if Banisadr doesn't know anything, he at least knows more about what is inside the mind of the Islamic Leader than any other Iranian refugee. He has personally lived through the events of the taking of hostages at the American Embassy. He has seen with his own eyes and heard with his own ears how worried Khomeyni was, in the first few hours and days of the hostage taking, about the possibility of a strong reaction from the United States and the destruction of what Khomeyni later called "the Second Revolution". As days and weeks passed and the Ayatollah realized that America would not react strongly, he became bold, started talking about the "Big Devil" and watched with nearly obscene pleasure as all sorts of groups including the Mojahedin-e Khalq, the Fada'iyan, the Tudeh Party and the Hezbollah clans added constant ammunition to the 24-hour anti-American demonstrations held in front of the American Embassy.

He Came Disguised As A Businessman

Abolhasan Banisadr closely witnessed how over fifty American diplomats were held prisoner for 444 days (it's a long time!) and how they were used for the purpose of keeping a psychological-propaganda war alive. He saw with his own eyes how Kurt Waldheim, who had advised the Americans to end the crisis by delivering the Shah to the Islamic Republic, was mocked and booed in the streets of Tehran and how his life was endangered. Abolhasan Banisadr also saw how Khomeyni lost his cool when Reagan won the elections and how he ordered his entourage to arrange for the immediate release of the hostages.

If the author of this article knows, then Banisadr must surely know as well that shortly after Reagan was elected, a high ranking German official

came to see Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i, the Prime Minister of the time, under the guise of being a businessman offering ways and means of breaking the so-called economic blockage against Iran. When they were alone with the interpreter, the German confessed that he was neither a businessman nor did he have proposals on how to break the economic blockage; he was merely delivering a message from the newly-elected President of the United States and the message was that if the hostages were not released by the time the President went to the White House to be sworn in and to formally assume the presidency, "your land will be flattened and your skies will be blackened with fighter aircraft". This so-called businessman who was, in reality, a high ranking official of the German Federal Republic, said the above and left without waiting for a response. The response to what he had said came on 20 January 1981: While in Washington, Reagan was going to the White House to be sworn in as President, a chartered plane carrying the American hostages, namely those same people who were to be tried on espionage charges, flew from the Mehrabad airport in Tehran to Algeria and finally landed in Weissbaden, West Germany. It is, therefore, clear why the German Government was thanked for having played a positive role in the hostage crises.

Banisadr Knows What He is Talking About

The foregoing was what happened behind the scenes. But Hojjatlol-Eslam Mohammad Kho'ini's interview with the Tehran KEYHAN newspaper after the hostage crisis, is open information. He said that the Imam hesitated at the beginning when the plan to occupy the American Embassy was presented to him (note that there is no mention of taking hostages). "But we insisted and explained to him that this was necessary in order to end the rumors that the Revolution was inspired or planned by America. Finally, the Imam agreed to go ahead 'for a few days only...and not longer'."

The affair lasted 444 days however and Ayatollah Khomeyni switched from his stand of being in favor of it under certain conditions to defending it unconditionally. Why? Because he was afraid that otherwise his position would be jeopardized and that his status in the world of extremism would be threatened by the leftist and other extremist elements in the country. This is not our own analysis but that of Mr Mehdi Bazargan in his explosive book entitled "The Islamic Revolution in Two Moves". Others who know the Ayatollah intimately confirm that although Khomeyni appears to be headstrong and unforgiving, when his own interests are in question, he is also capable of compromising and retracting. It was in his interest to enter into a conflict with the Carter administration and he, therefore, did it. It was not in his interest, however, to offer an excuse to a freshly-installed President who strived to give back the lost self-confidence and pride to a Nation that was used to being victorious and he, therefore, did not enter into a conflict with him. All Ayatollah Khomeyni's compromises and retractions are tactical and calculated in nature. They must not be interpreted as the abandonment of his objective which is to destroy the foundations of Western Civilization. Khomeyni believes, rightfully or not, that the foundations of Western Civilization are rotten and that the latter should be destroyed. He is not very much concerned, however, about what can replace it in the future. He considers destabilizing Western Democracies as a step towards total destruction.

Political "Astrologers" and those who believe that all the defeats and disgraces of American politics are caused by America's own deceitful policies, can say whatever they wish. The fact remains that the extent of the damage caused by this 444-day hostage crisis to the United States' reputation and honor is such that its effects still persist and will, most probably, continue way into the future. American people may have forgotten this event; the memory of it, however, will continue to exist as a historical nightmare for the country.

Ayatollah Khomeyni cannot do anything for the Islamic Republic except to build up its reputation as the greatest enemy of Western interests. Compared to him, Colonel Qadhdhafi is a mere child. The semi-confidential report released by the Military Command of the Federal Republic of Germany, according to which "Khomeyni's terrorism is far more dangerous than that of Qadhdhafi" is yet another confirmation of this fact.

Value of One Billion Dollars for Khomeyni

The West is not always as realistic in its estimates of the power of the Islamic Republic. One cannot help but smile with astonishment when told that the power of the Iranian government today is sufficiently established and structured as to allow it to continue functioning after Ayatollah Khomeyni. Assuming that the Islamic regime lasts after Khomeyni (and we will not enter into this discussion here), it will definitely not be the result of the "structure" that it has gained at present. We do not want our discussion to be extended here to the actual meaning of certain terms and we do not want to enter a discussion on what "structure" really means. One should say, however, that in present-day Iran, "structure" is not easily seen and its existence cannot be easily determined. This same "structure", which holds such an important place in Western thought, is rare and difficult to find in Iran. Today's Iran has old and new organisms that perform certain "functions" without having a real "structure". The main reason for Khomeyni's power and influence is that he does not have to operate within a set structure. Iran's regime today is the sum total of these functions without any solid or distinguishable structure.

During the last 'Eid-e Fetr (religious holiday), when the leaders of the Islamic Republic went to Jamaran to pay their respects to the Ayatollah, the latter, while supporting the private sector, said that the support of the public sector was a "religious necessity" because it was doing its best to limit the private sector's influence in the economy. While calling the weakening of the Government as "betrayal of Islam", he gave his support to the establishment of private and exclusive schools that he considered to be an educational challenge to the government.

The Ayatollah does not do this sort of thing just to be able to maneuver between Iran's multiple centers of power. He does not have a clear idea of how the economy should be; which direction education should follow; how the centers of decision making should function. He never ever had any idea about these issues. He does not place that much importance on them

either and tries not to get involved in issues that may reduce his influence among his supporters. That is the reason why when he was forced into compromising as a result of Reagan's pressure, he got the Majlis involved.

Now, with regard to the maneuvers of the French Government, one has to ask the following questions: 1. Can the French hostages be released from the hold of the Lebanese Hizbollah without Khomeyni's intervention? 2. Is the Ayatollah ready to intervene? and if yes, who will he use to actually do it for him?

Based on Khomeyni's past actions, it is difficult to imagine that he would sacrifice the Lebanese Hizbollah's support to get close to the French Government. Even though Iran is currently suffering from incurable foreign currency shortage, it should be reminded that, in the past, Khomeyni had sacrificed 12 billion dollars just to defeat Carter and to discredit America. He will, consequently, not go out of his way for a mere 1 billion dollars owed by ("Aerodif"), particularly because the French Government has started hinting about the damages suffered by French companies as a result of the Iranian Revolution.

In addition, if the Ayatollah remains uninvolved, important issues will fall into the hands of various centers of power in Iran and the rivalries and enmities that exist among them will prevent any important decision from being taken.

Other Motivations

On the other hand, one must be very cautious when giving certain advantages to regimes such as the Islamic Republic of Iran. Perhaps there were other motivations behind "encouraging and persuading" Mas'ud Rajavi to leave France. If, however, the meaning of this action was to give a gift to Khomeyni, one can already be sceptical about its results. Because, as a French author wrote in the LE MONDE newspaper, the more these types of regimes get, the more demanding they become. This same author, using an ironical and humorous style which made the truth stand out even more, wrote: "If today we release all prisoners who have committed crimes on French territory, tomorrow they will ask us to dissolve the Parliament; and when we dissolve the Parliament, they will ask us not to go to church anymore; and if we stop going to church, they will pressure us into abandoning our religion and converting to Islam!"

Even if all calculations prove to be correct and if in exchange for giving something, something is received, the fact remains that a new element called hostage taking has entered international relations. This element can be used by any group who will set its own values of right and wrong.

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IRAN

PAPER ANTICIPATES FAMINE, BANKRUPTCY, ECONOMIC FAILURE

London KEYHAN in Persian 19 Jun 86 p 8

[London KEYHAN in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] Quoting an announcement by the regime's National Economic Mobilization Headquarters, the Islamic Republic Radio on 21 May 1986 stated: "Of the projects presented to this headquarters, due to the foreign exchange deficit, it is agreed to prepare a list of all the production units which provide the equipment and goods needed in the war fronts; only those units will remain active and their products, instead of being sent to the cities, will be transported directly to the war fronts." With attention to this direction, it is evident that due to the lack of foreign exchange, there is no place for the activities of the other factories of the country and the import of necessary items.

By a simple calculation, one realizes that during the last 7-8 months, the foreign exchange earnings of Iran have been reduced about 80 percent. On one side, the oil price has dropped from 26 dollars a barrel to 12-13 dollars a barrel (some experts have even estimated the sale of 8 dollars a barrel by Iran) which will reduce foreign exchange earnings by 50 percent. On the other side, the dollar income from the sale of oil during the past months has lost 30 percent of its purchasing power.

In this manner, if the annual income of the Islamic Republic from the sale of oil during the year 1984-85 was around 18 billion dollars, it has now been reduced to a maximum of 8 billion dollars, and by deducting the 30 percent decline in dollar value compared to the value of the dollar in previous months, foreign exchange earnings have a purchasing power equal to 3 - 3.5 billion dollars of 6 months ago.

A number of leaders and authorities of the oil producing nations have informed their people about the reality befalling them in simple language. Among them, Chadli Bendjedid, the President of Algeria, in a speech at the conclusion of the Sixth Congress of the Algerian Language, published in AL-MOJAHED newspaper on 9 March 1986, explained these realities to his nation and announced: "Due to the change and decline in the oil price and the fall of the dollar value, the income of Algeria has been reduced 80 percent." Only the officials of the Islamic Republic do not intend to inform the nation about the dimensions of this calamity. They pretend that nothing has happened in the oil market or to the value of the dollar in today's world. The dimensions of the decrease of Iran's foreign exchange will become more apparent as 3 years ago, the Islamic

Republic decided to prepare a separate foreign exchange budget for the nation and to ratify it in the Majlis. In October 1982, the Islamic Majlis bound the cabinet to prepare a separate foreign exchange budget along with the national budget bill and present it to the Majlis for approval. This decision was made at a time when the government had an income from the sale of oil equivalent to 18 - 20 billion dollars, the oil price in 1981 was 37 dollars a barrel, and Iran was able to sell between 2.1 to 2.7 million barrels of oil per day.

In February 1983, during the preparation of the national budget for 1984, according to the budget article, the foreign exchange budget of the Islamic Republic was estimated at 15 billion dollars from foreign exchange received and the same amount was approved in the Majlis. It is amazing how the same budget amount, without any study or calculation, was approved by the Majlis for 1365 (1985-86), whereas in the previous year, of the approved 18 billion dollars, earnings were less than 8 billion dollars. In the current year, considering the situation, it is anticipated that foreign exchange earnings will be even less than the previous year (around 6 billion dollars).

In this regard, while the foreign exchange budget article for the year 1365 (1985-86) was being discussed with attention to the deficits of the previous years (instead of 15 billion dollars, the revenue was only 8 billion dollars), a number of the Majlis deputies who were informed of the exaggerated figures for last year and even more so, for the current year, voiced their opposition and they were immediately hushed. Among those deputies in the session of Tuesday, 4 March 1985 were Mohammad Reza Bahonar and Assadollah Badamchian. They talked about the unreality of these figures and the response to them was interesting and unexpected. Dari Najafabadi, the spokesman of the Planning and Budget Committee in response to these deputies said: "In this article, we only intend to explain our foreign exchange commitments and payment orders and not the amount of our foreign exchange earnings!"

Year of Famine, Bankruptcy and Economic Failure

At first, the deficit in the foreign exchange budget, which was around half last year and will be even more in the current year, did not attract any attention, but when according to the Majlis sanctioned laws, we realize how this credit is used for importing products, the importance of this matter will be greatly intensified. The government was bound to provide the following goods for the primary needs of the country and to secure the necessary needs of the people from foreign exchange earnings:

- 1 - Foodstuff like wheat, meat, shortening, etc.
- 2 - Medicine and the primary materials for making medicine, laboratory and medical equipment.
- 3 - The equipment needed for water and soil activities, seed, cattle and poultry improvement and agricultural machinery for the Agriculture Department.

- 4 - The purchase of primary equipment for the production and transmission of electric power, spare parts for reconstruction of existing installations and prevention of their destruction and depression.
- 5 - To provide primary materials for the petro-chemical and steel industry.
- 6 - Purchase of the necessary gas injection equipment for the efficiency of the oil wells and to prevent them from drying.
- 7 - Purchase of equipment for road construction and improvement of the railroad.
- 8 - The import of the needed equipment for the repair of mines and to facilitate the operation of underground resources.
- 9 - Purchase of work tool equipment for expansion of educational and research activities, establishment of the universities, technical and professional schools.
- 10 - To secure necessary foreign exchange for industrial units and the private sector and many other things.

The import of all these items is estimated on the basis of a 15 billion dollar yearly foreign exchange revenue and now this amount has an 80 percent deficit. We now realize that with the announcement of the National Mobilization Headquarters of the Islamic Republic, most of the foreign exchange revenue will be used to activate those industries which provide the needed products to the war fronts. Therefore, we can right now declare the year 1365 [21 Mar 86 - 20 Mar 87], the year of famine, bankruptcy and economic failure of the regime.

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IRAN

EMIGRE PAPER COMMENTS ON REGIME-IMPOSED 'UNIFORM'

Paris QIYAM-E IRAN in Persian 12 Jun 86 pp 1, 12

[Paris QIYAM-E IRAN in Persian; weekly organ of the Iran National Resistance Movement]

[Text] The bill for the campaign against unveiled women, named the 'uniform' bill, was finally presented with first priority to the Majlis. We expected this for a few years. When the hezbollahi were throwing dye at women's and men's faces in the streets or injuring their faces with razors in order to force them to dress in the hezbollah fashion, we noted then that the regime was not going to succeed in this manner and finally would be obliged to dress the people in uniforms. Our anticipation was based on one simple sociological reason. From the beginning, the question of clothing was recognized by the people of Iran as a symbol of the imposition of the new despotic rule and they showed reaction in this regard. If you recall, in 1979, during the very first Nowruz (New Year) after the revolution, Engineer Bazargan, the prime minister of the provisional government, appeared in public to make a speech dressed in a clean suit and tie. He specifically referred to his suit and tie and implicitly wanted to indicate that the government not agree with the opposition demonstrated by the reactionary sources in regard to clothes. Certainly, the mullahs, despite the opposition of the provincial government, were not relinquishing the idea.

The Iranian people's costume was a sign of the modernization era and changing the costume was among Khomeyni's ways of wiping out modernism. The change of costume legally took place in Iran in December 1928. Up to that time, wearing a suit was not customary in Iran and as a whole, there was no special rule for clothing. The clothes of villagers and low income people consisted of canvas shirts, blue or black buckram trousers and rimless felt hats. Tradesmen and merchants wore long tunics with sashes and the quality and color of the costume depended on the wealth of the person. Dignitaries and aristocrats wore fur hats, garments with high collars and folds around the waist, falling above or below the knee according to the age and taste of the wearer. Among wealthy people, the use of broken collars, ties and cashmere vests with pocket watches and gold chains was customary to some extent. But the only costume without any rule or order and therefore very common was that of the clergy, meaning loose, sleeveless cloaks (Aba), long tunics open in the front and turbans. This costume, used by the learned men (Olama), should be dignified and respected, and was not only worn by the first class clergy, but also by

jugglers, peddlars, beggars, grocers, perfumers and other classes of people. According to the law of 1928 (1307), the public was forced to set aside their various costumes and wear suits and black, broad, cloth hats with rims called Pahlavi hats.

Turban wearers, especially those who used turbans and long open tunics (Aba) as a means of doing business, resisted the new law and there was some conflict. Finally, the government discussed the matter with the sources of emulation and important clergy and assured them that the reason for the change of costume was not opposition to the appearance of the ecclesiastics and it was agreed that only clergymen, teachers and students of the theological centers would be entitled to wear the clergy costume after obtaining a permit.

After a few years, the Pahlavi hat was abolished and the uniform diminished and the people usually wore the same outfit used by the majority of the people in the world today. Gradually the people were free to wear whatever they wanted. Nobody was arrested because of not having a tie and nobody was tortured for wearing a tie. Naturally in cold weather, the people wore warm clothes and covered their head, and in the summer, they wore light clothes. In fact this is a matter of getting dressed. If a person has the freedom to choose his costume, he will not be sick to torture himself by wearing dark heavy clothing with long sleeves and a closed collar in the heat of summer. But if he feels a gun next to his ear in order to cover all his body, he will be forced to wear a fur coat in 100 degree temperature.

When Ayatollah Khomeyni and the students of his school dominated Iran, due to their resistance to the modernization movement hidden under the ashes of fire for 50 years, the first thing they attacked was the people's costumes. The necktie was the first piece of attire attacked. The enmity of the mullahs to neckties is only based on a long grudge. They have never forgotten that those who introduced new thoughts to Iran returned from Europe wearing ties. Since that time, the mullahs have identified the necktie as the transmitter of the microbe of modernness. In their opinion, a man wearing a tie has something wrong with him and is capable of doubting many things. Certainly the mullahs do not reveal their true views about the necktie and in order to banish the tie, they made excuses that this piece of mute cloth is the symbol of westernization. If a tie is the symbol of western culture, a shirt, suit, and wristwatch are not exempt from this sin either. Furthermore, during their visit to Iran, the leaders of the Eastern block and third world also wore neckties and most of them have more enmity toward western policies and culture than the leaders of the Islamic Republic. In any case, the interference of the mullah network in the people's costume has made the people realize the imposition of the despotic rule and confronted it from the very first day. The mullahs could claim that the women's veil is a religious order and must be obeyed but they cannot state that Islamic religious law has selected the color of the dress, shoes and stockings too. For example, they could not indicate that to wear boots or half-boots is forbidden by Islamic law. They are not able to invent sayings from the word of the prophet or Imam J'afar Sadeq (the fifth imam) that women's blouses are detestable and wearing large pants is a pious act. In fact, there is not any command in regard to men's costume in Islam. Therefore, when the people get dressed, they are careful to shut the mouth of Shari'atmadar (versed in religious law). Shari'atmadar Sabzevari had

issued instructions that the women must not be seen in public bath houses naked. Therefore the women were forced to wear waist cloths when going to the bath houses but they hated it immensely. One day a woman appeared in the bath house without a waist cloth and had only covered her front with a small piece of cloth. The shrews like the Zeynab sisters of today started to fuss and make noises. The woman said: "Stop making undue public disgrace, Sha'r (religious law) has never bound a woman to cover herself in a woman's bath house and if I have used this small piece of cloth to cover myself, it is merely to shut the mouth of Shari'atmadar."

The delicate games of the people, especially of the women in regard to costume, was one of the open signs of resistance and the despotic rule of religious jurisprudence cannot bear this resistance. The only solution is like in communist countries, to consider a uniform for men and women and to precisely determine its style, color and material. We had predicted this and as you can see, this prediction, like many other of our predictions, proved to be true.

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IRAN

OPPOSITION PAPER PORTRAYS DIM FUTURE FOR COUNTRY

London KEYHAN in Persian 19 Jun 86 p 8

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian, founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] Despite the Islamic Republic slogan of self-sufficiency and lack of dependence on the east and west, experts and business executives in industrial and economic affairs believe that the statistics show something else.

Not only has industrial and economic dependency on foreign countries not decreased, but in the past 7 years, more than any other time, Iran has been in daily need of the east and west and even its neighbors. The amount of industrial raw materials purchased from abroad has increased from 40 percent before the revolution to 54 percent in recent years.

These specialists state: "With the decline of the oil price, the foreign exchange situation of the Islamic Republic will become more critical daily and in the same respect, the Islamic Republic economy, which depends solely on oil, is in an internal explosive stage. If this situation continues, before long, the half-baked industrial framework of Iran will collapse disastrously."

The specialists say: "Dependency on the outside and reliance on foreign exchange earnings from the sale of oil is not something to be solved in one or two months. Therefore, the Islamic Republic has fallen in such straitened circumstances that to come out of it would require a miracle."

The economic experts in Iran these days are not able to hide their extreme anxiety about the events resulting from the fall of the oil price and the shortage of foreign exchange which is the result of sole reliance on oil income. They insist that if they cannot find a solution for the problems of the shortage of foreign exchange, the number of unemployed will reach 4 million in no time. This unemployment is naturally the result of the shortage of government and private sector financial and foreign exchange strength in order to purchase needed industrial and primary materials, which in this case, will result in the closing of factories and industries as a whole, and their adverse effects will appear gradually. Considering that 2 million of the active population of the country is working in the industrial branches of the nation, we can easily comprehend that if what is anticipated occurs, unemployment and its consequences will become a national catastrophe. It is worth mentioning that according to the predictions of the experts, private

sector production will decrease 65 percent due to the foreign exchange limitations.

The specialists of the Ministry of Planning and Budget say: "In 1983, about 84 percent of the national imports consisted of intermediate or investment goods and these goods were imported in order to supply Iran's industries. This figure indicates the extreme dependency of Iran's industries on foreign exchange."

Dr Mas'ud Nili, a specialist with the Ministry of Planning and Budget explains: "Fifty percent of the raw materials consumed in our industries are imported from abroad, therefore in regard to the undesirable situation of Iran's foreign exchange, it can easily be predicted that it is probable that the foundation of Iran's industrial centers will collapse."

According to studies conducted by responsible organizations, the foreign exchange needed by the industries is 7 billion dollars a year and all of this amount is used to purchase needed raw materials and spare parts for the factories.

First Sign of Bankruptcy

At present, while you read this, the private industries, due to the straitened financial circumstances of the Islamic Republic, do not have foreign exchange to purchase primary and essential equipment. Consequently, a number of industrial and economic organizations have come to a complete standstill and the number of these units is increasing everyday. In addition to the above mentioned principal difficulties, the inadequacy of the other economic divisions has aggravated the dependency of the industries, and the low output of agricultural products and the lack of availability of advanced technology for the internal experts and specialists has deprived Iran of the possibilities of a fruitful national production.

Dr Nili says: "Unfortunately, during the years after the revolution,, we were not able to eliminate the economic dependency of Iran. This economic composition is created by those industrial nations which are very well acquainted with our internal situation. They are very well aware of the negative aspects of the fall of the oil price on our internal affairs." The specialist indicates: "Ninety seven percent of the foreign exchange income of the government is provided by oil and gas and the other government income is from taxation. Since the people neglect to pay their taxes on time or correctly, the government at present is defeated in all sources of its income."

In the view of the economic experts of the Islamic Republic, there is not much hope for the progress and expansion of non-oil exports which at present exceed 3 billion dollars a year. Even this insignificant amount also needs raw materials and equipment for the industries and they must all be imported. In the end, all these frustrations lead to the question of unemployment. The shut down of the industrial centers and factories sends the flood of new unemployed to the previous ones and with attention to the new work force entering the job market every year, then all remain idle and bewildered. Very

soon, the number of unemployed in Iran will exceed 4 million and by calculating that the average family consists of 4 persons, we can state that nearly 16 million Iranians do not have any income from living.

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